

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

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Third Edition, Re-written and thoroughly Revised

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To

My Pupils, Past and Present, who
gave me the inspiration and the
incentive to undertake
this humble work.

. . . .“the great masters, whose spiritual inspiration comprehends and yet transcends all varied manifestations of humanity, and makes the face of worldliness turn to the light that comes from the Eternal source of Wisdom, . . .”

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

SOCIAL Philosophy has now come to stay permanently as a part of our syllabus for B. A., as well as M. A., examinations in most of the Indian Universities. Consequently, it was felt that this early work needed careful revision and expansion. The author is glad to find that there is a steady demand for the book from several quarters in different States, *viz.*, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay and Punjab, apart from our own Uttar Pradesh. He was thus compelled to expand the scope of the work and to rewrite some parts. The original *third* chapter (Family and Marriage) has been broken up into two independent chapters, *third* and *fourth*, (The Family as a Social Unit and Marriage as a Social Institution) and the last chapter has been expanded, so as to include a more detailed account of the great and vital contribution of Shri Aurobindo to problems of Peace and Internationalism. The author's recent visit to the Ashram at Pondicherry has given him the necessary impetus and with the Mother's Blessings, he has ventured to recast his ideas in a new mould.

The book is, however, still far from complete and final. Indeed, as one revises an early work, one is apt to feel dissatisfied. Many portions of the book are still vague and need further clarification, expansion or revision. There are some important omissions in the field of Social Pathology, including Crime and Punishment. These shortcomings may be rectified in the next Edition, if there is a generous response from the readers.

The author particularly wishes to mention the name of Dr. Dharendra Mohan Datta, who has been an unfailing guide and friend, always helpful with wise suggestions and sympathetic criticism, increasing the utility of this work. It is extremely necessary that Social Philosophy should be carefully studied in this country by our youth. The clash between

the ancient Oriental Culture, with its deep-seated spirituality, introversion and other-worldliness, on the one hand, and the dynamic, democratic culture of the West, on the other, has given rise to a multitude of problems to the social thinker. We have to try to make spirituality more progressive, extrovert, historical and psychologically-oriented; the scientific outlook, with its emphasis on Technology, Engineering, Heavy Industries and Atomic Energy, has to be tempered down with the mixture of wisdom, compassion and oriental spirit of calm contemplation. A new synthesis of Science and Religion, Logic and History, Epistemology and Psychology, Ontology and Axiology, has to be worked out in the field of Social Philosophy. It is true that today we live in an age of Specialists, an age in which the condition of success is concentration, narrowing one's range and therefore we are all liable to commit "*the Specialist's fallacy*." The different aspects of a social situation and the different parts of the life of a society are so closely interwoven and inter-dependent that we cannot fully understand any of them in isolation and that we cannot alter one without affecting others. Secondly, the results of isolating social facts are liable to be not only "*false in theory but mischievous in practice*." Thirdly, we are living in an age of increasingly rapid social change: yet "social life is so bewilderingly complex that it is much more difficult to see it as a whole and therefore to see social facts in their total context than is the case with any other facts. Hence the tendency to specialize, to concentrate on a particular aspect or situation and to ignore its total context is naturally very strong." We have quoted the wise words of a modern writer and social thinker, who has recently put in a strong plea for *The Need for a Social Philosophy* (vide "*Philosophy*", Vol XXX, 113). Professor A. Macbeath, in a very illuminating Lecture, delivered to the British Sociological Association on February 24, 1954, rightly emphasized the need for a "functional correlation" between the different aspects of society in the light of a system of values. Quoting two leading social thinkers, the late Professor Stebbing and

the late Professor Whitehead, he has visualized the chief dangers of the modern age in the "isolation of different aspects of life and of the disciplines which deal with them."

Professor Stebbing, who is better known as a Logician and a Philosopher of Scientific Method, says : " When I think of the neat, trim, tidy problems of Logic and Philosophy of Science, and then turn to these sprawling, tangled problems of Moral and Social Philosophy, I shudder with distaste and long for a logically elegant procedure. Most philosophers, I think, must have felt as I do." The other statement by the late Professor Whitehead begins by pointing out why people with a theoretical interest in social questions prefer to concentrate on one or other of the social sciences. " Effective knowledge is professionalized knowledge Professionals specialize in particular regions of thought and thereby progressively add to the sum of knowledge within their respective limitations of subject." He goes on to point out the unfortunate consequences of specialization on the Scientists themselves thus : " It produces minds in a groove Now to be mentally in a groove is to live in contemplating a given set of abstractions But there is no groove of abstractions which is adequate for the comprehension of human life." Of its effect on Society, he says : " The dangers arising from this aspect of professionalism are great, particularly in our democratic societies. The directive force of reason is weakened. The leading intellects lack balance.... The task of co-ordination is left to those who lack either the force or the character to succeed in some definite career. In short, the specialized functions of the community are performed better and more progressively, but the generalized direction lacks vision." And he concludes : " the discoveries of the nineteenth century were in the direction of professionalism, so that we are left with no expansion of wisdom and with greater need of it."

The author agrees whole-heartedly with Professor Macbeath, when he comes to the conclusion that " while the Social Sciences deal with abstract aspects of the life of society,

Social Philosophy tries to see it as a whole." Again, "Social Philosophy is concerned with values as well as facts." Indeed, the use of the term "science" itself seems to me somewhat misleading as a description of social inquiries." The author's own views, as expounded in the text, are so identical with these statements of Professor Macbeath and the need for emphasizing this point of view is so imperative at the present moment that no apology is needed for quoting extensively from this article in the Preface here.

What is true of England and America is still more true of India as it exists on the cross-roads today. What Professor Macbeath wants is a Social Philosophy for an urban industrial democratic society. What we want is a new synthesis of our *rustic naive culture* with the demands of a rising industrial urban population. Jawaharlal Nehru stands as a symbol of this living contact between the East and the West, between Science and Spirituality, between Devotion and Knowledge, between Theory and Action. The author is happy to find that his hopes expressed six years ago in the Preface to the Second Edition, has been partially realized and Nehru has gone forward in the task of leading the world from War to Peace, from Strife to Love, from the chaos of Nationalism to the Ideal of Internationalism.

The Author is grateful to Shrimati Dr Raj Bala for help rendered in revising and expanding the third chapter and to Hari Singh Shishodia in revising the Index. The late Dr. Amaranatha Jha, who was an unfailing guide and friend, is no more in this world. The Author prays for peace to the Noble Soul.

R. N. KAUL.

7, BANK ROAD,
ALLAHABAD
15th August, 1957

EXTRACTS FROM PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is, indeed, gratifying for an author to find that there is a demand for a second edition of his work. Apart from other considerations, this shows that his efforts have been appreciated in some quarters. The writer is particularly grateful to Professor D. M. Datta for his friendly appreciation of this work. After an interval of five momentous years, during which much has happened in the country, he has got the opportunity to revise and expand this book so as to bring it up to date.

Two big events during this interval (which have been mainly responsible for the alterations in the text) have to be recorded here. The attainment of Independence on August 15, 1947, and the Maha-Nirvana of the Mahatma on January 30, 1948, are the two great happenings which have completely changed not only Indian History but, unfortunately as it is, also Indian Geography. The Independence, for which the Indian National Congress fought for about three decades under Gandhi, was marred by the orgy of murder, loot, arson and violence that followed in its train : the partition of India into Bharat and Pakistan left an unsavoury taste of freedom in the mouths of the leaders. The country swallowed the Independence like a bitter pill and consoled itself with the thought that the penalty for its slavery was being paid. But the tragic death of the Mahatma under extraordinary circumstances was a shock for which the 5½ months old Infant Swaraj was ill prepared. Under its revered leader and Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Bharat is somehow or other struggling on from one crisis to another, like a rickety child, born under an evil star, who is always the victim of some foul disease or the other. The idealism which inspired the leadership of the nation under the guidance of the Mahatma continues to do so, though it has been

tempered with stark realism : the cosmopolitan outlook of the Prime Minister and his broad-based *Weltanschauung* stand in bold relief against the background of a dark and dismal horizon in the world today. The author hopes and prays that Nehru would one day lead the nations of the world from War to Peace, from Strife to Love, from Nationalism to Internationalism, and thus complete the great work for which the Mahatma lived and died.

The author wishes to thank all friends who have helped by sharing his burden. He particularly is grateful to *Shri Ishwar Saran Das* who, in spite of his delicate health and other engagements, voluntarily gave much of his valuable time in helping to summarize *Plato's Social Philosophy* (vide *Appendix A*) and in reading the proofs. He is also grateful to Dr. Tej Narain Shivpuri who placed his valuable advice, on all occasions when it was solicited, ungrudgingly at the writer's disposal. The management of Shanti Press and the Publishers are to be thanked for their courtesy in cooperating with the writer on all matters.

R. N. KAUL.

7, BANK ROAD

26th January, 1951

(Republic Day)

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

BY

the late Dr. Amaranatha Jha

M. A., D. LITT., F. R. S. L.

Chairman, Public Service Commission, U. P., and Bihar

and Vice-Chancellor

UNIVERSITIES OF ALLAHABAD AND BANARAS

MAN is an individual with special aptitudes and talents. He is also a social or political being who has certain obligations to the Society and the State. The educator's task is to bring out, develop and perfect his individuality and also to equip him for his place in society and his work in life. The philosopher deals with the eternal verities and with conduct. The scientist seemed at one time to be steeped in abstractions, suggesting, as Stevenson said, that he wrote of life as with the cold fingers of a star-fish. But the scientific philosopher or the philosophical scientist recognizes that there are things which endure and are eternal. The poet, in the words of Bradley, says what he means, but his meaning seems to beckon away beyond itself, or rather to expand into something boundless which is only focussed in it. The social philosopher casts his net wide and takes into it practically every aspect concerning man's life, private as well as public. He has not yet made his subject of study rigid, formal and purely abstract. It is intellectual as well as emotional. That way salvation lies.

I commend Mr. Kaul's book in the hope that it will stimulate interest in a useful as well as cultural subject.

AMARANATHA JHA

ALLAHABAD
February 26, 1946

EXTRACTS FROM PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE publication of this book needs both an explanation and an apology. Books on Social Philosophy are not many in number, while the subject is rapidly gaining in importance. The present writer has ventured to put his somewhat disjointed thoughts in cold print in the hope that *some confusions may be cleared up*. Even, however, if this study *adds to the puzzle, the writer would be amply rewarded*. For *Philosophy is not an attempt to solve ultimate problems but mainly to focus the reader's thought on them*

The book entirely owes its existence to the love and confidence bestowed upon the writer by his pupils as well as to the sympathy and encouragement received from the Vice-Chancellor and the Head of Philosophy Department. To them all he owes a deep debt of gratitude. Late Dr. Amaranatha Jha has been an unfailing Patron and Guide for the last 23 years. Late Professor R. D. Ranade has been the dynamic force behind all that the writer has been able to do. In preparing the book, the writer has freely drawn upon the standard works of several eminent authors, to whom he has referred in the body of the book. To all of them he expresses his deep sense of obligation.

Special thanks are due to *Principal N. C. Mukerji* for elucidation of many thorny points in connection with Gandhism, to *Mr. P. N. Haksar*, Bar-at-Law, in connection with Marxism and to *Dr. Amaranatha Jha*, in connection with Education. The late *Dr. Beni Prasad* was mainly responsible for the writer's interest in Hobhouse, and it is a great pity that he did not live to see the book in print. Amongst the devoted pupils, *Messrs. Vyas Narain Shukla, Jagannath Singh, T. A. Philip and Dayal Saran* placed their services at the writer's disposal ungrudgingly in correcting

the proofs and preparing an Index. To all of them, and to many others, he owes debts which can hardly be repaid.

Lastly, thanks are due to *Rai Saheb Ram Dayal Agarwala* and the management of the Shanti Press for accommodating the writer's whims in keeping the price within reasonable limits, in spite of high cost and scarcity of paper. The whole thing has been a labour of love both to the author and the publishers.

R. N. KAUL

7, BANK ROAD
ALLAHABAD
19th February 1946

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A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

INTRODUCTION

WE are not merely living beings but also self-conscious. Human life is reflective : Reflection, Thought, Reason constitute the glory of Humanity. From it spring the magnificent achievements in culture and civilization that mark the course of human history. Reflection is the power to ask and answer questions, to set and solve problems ; it is the capacity to be *curious* about ourselves and our environment. The answers we give must, however, be consistent ; different solutions must be correlated. Reflection demands consistent answers to all possible questions and a logical inter-connection of all possible answers—an exhaustive, harmonious and systematic view of the world. Out of this reflective capacity of the human mind, Science as well as Philosophy are born. In this sense, Science and Philosophy, as Whitehead says, “are merely different aspects of one great enterprise of the human mind” They co-operate in the task of “raising humanity above the general level of animal life.”¹

In this general characterization, Science and Philosophy are not discriminated. Perhaps the word ‘*curiosity*’ seems too trivial to express that inward motive which has driven mankind onward towards the solution of the Eternal Puzzle. But, in a wider and deeper sense, ‘*curiosity*’ means “the craving of reason that the facts discriminated in experience be understood. It means the refusal to be satisfied with the bare welter of fact, or even with the bare habit of routine. The first step in Science and Philosophy has been made when it is grasped that every routine exemplifies a principle which is capable of statement in abstraction from its particular exemplifications. The *curiosity*, which is the gadfly

1. A. N. Whitehead : Adventures of Ideas.

driving civilization from its ancient safeties, is this desire to state the principles in their abstraction."¹

Philosophy thus grows directly out of life and its needs. Every one who lives and thinks is in some measure a philosopher. Philosophy is neither an accident nor a luxury, but inevitable, normal and necessary. The individual, as living, is active and dynamic, not passive and static. We have desires, interests, wants : our conduct is directed to some 'ends.' The environment places limitations, hindrances on us : our reaction to the environment is precisely what we mean by living. The environment (physical, vital and social) makes demands of us that we must meet, if we are to live. The types of reaction which the individual makes can be classified into (1) sensitive, (2) emotional, (3) *intellectual*. This last gives rise to Science and Philosophy. Thinking is a bare necessity—there are novel situations, strange experiences, to which we must adapt our life : there are problems and mysteries which must be solved by intellectual activity.

"Whence are we and why are we ?

Of what scene

The actors or spectators ?"

—*Shelley*.

These are the problems not of Shelley alone, but in some degree of every normal, intelligent human being. "We think because we must, because our nature is as it is, and because our environment forces on us demands which we dare not ignore. Thinking is a necessity of human existence ; it is man's most efficient means of prolonging and expanding his life."²

The intellectual enterprise results, on the one hand, in a fund of new information and, on the other, it gives rise to new problems : thus the frontier of knowledge is pushed farther on. And this process goes on indefinitely : the intellectual adventure is an unending one. This feature is

Common Sense and Science.

1. *Ibid*.

2. Walts Cunningham : Problems of Philosophy.

its chief fascination, since an intellect with nothing to do would be at best but a useless ornament. There are *two* stages of this unending venture, viz., Common-Sense knowledge and Scientific knowledge.

(1) *Common-sense knowledge* : It is knowledge which is generally accepted as *true* without question : knowledge of the first look, *self-evident* knowledge. It has *three* main characteristics.

(a) It is a *theory* : it is not *given* knowledge, it is knowledge that is created by the activity of the mind. It results from interpretation : it is already an advance on the animal consciousness, inasmuch as reflection is already at work. (b) It is largely inherited : the medium through which it is transmitted is language, tradition and custom. "The Common-sense knowledge of any generation is the legacy of the past to the present and is transmitted through the conservative forces of group life. We grow with it during childhood and it is part of our daily intellectual diet. We assimilate it *unconsciously* as we digest our food."¹ (c) It is vague, indefinite, sketchy : it cannot be defined with any precision. Many of the views vary from age to age and community to community. They are superficial : they result in contradiction, as soon as one digs beneath the surface. They rest on uncriticized prejudices and assumptions which are open to question. Thus Common-sense cannot carry us very far in our intellectual enterprise. It has soon to be abandoned for Science. As Thomas Huxley said, "Science is nothing but trained and organized common-sense."

The essence of Science is a certain *critical* quality. Scientific knowledge is more gratifying to our intellectual interests. It is not knowledge of a

What is Science ? different reality : it is rather a critical and systematic knowledge of the same reality in which common-sense is interested in a vague and haphazard manner. It has *three* main characteristics.

1. Ibid.

(a) *Accuracy.* Science demands definiteness and precision; it is not satisfied with vague guesses. The true scientist is possessed of "the fanaticism of veracity"¹—an untiring search for truth. For this purpose, Science introduces quantity and measurement to make its results definite, exact and accurate.

(b) *Universality.* Science is concerned with general principles or laws rather than particular facts. The scientific man is concerned with the understanding of individual facts as illustrations of general principles, '*The principles are understood in the abstract, and the facts are understood in respect to their embodiment of the principles.*' To attain this end, science takes resort to framing of hypotheses and their verification by experimental methods.

(c) *Organization.* This leads us to the *third* characteristic of Science. Science is systematic and organized : it wants to correlate the various bits of isolated information and to solve all contradictions which arise in the attempt. The goal of Science is the construction of an organized body of knowledge and this is accomplished through generalizations. The knowledge which we thus get is far superior in value to anything which common-sense can give. This is now generally accepted. Where common-sense and Science differ, the verdict of Science must be accepted.

There is, however, a third stage of level of the intellectual enterprise—a deeper level of thinking—called philosophical,

Philosophy and
Science However ignorant one may be of the results of scientific enquiry, some sort of philosophy every one must entertain.

Common-sense has its philosophy : but the philosophy of common-sense is, like common-sense itself, superficial, vague and unsatisfactory. Common-sense Philosophy needs to be brought into touch with the results of Science and revised in the light of these results. And the very procedure and results of the sciences necessitate a more genuine type of

1. Whitehead : Adventures of Ideas,

Philosophy. For the *assumptions* made by the sciences as fundamental to their procedure give rise to certain important problems. Again, the *selective* character necessary to the development of the sciences forces each science to leave out of account many important aspects of our environment which are for its purposes irrelevant. So we are driven on to attempt to bring together these results in the form of a system of knowledge binding from all points of view. To do this requires a special discipline, called Philosophy, which is thus a necessary outgrowth of the sciences and not merely a pedantic debate of trivial questions. It is an *essential stage* in man's intellectual journey through his world. Nor can it be outgrown. It is always necessarily present at whatever stage human knowledge may have developed. The further our knowledge expands and the more specialized it becomes, the more important as well as the more complex does the task of Philosophy grow.

There is a fundamental difference between the motives and methods of Science and Philosophy. "While Science studies the different facts of experience, Philosophy develops the meaning and implications of experience as a whole. Science is purely descriptive. It is perfectly satisfied if it relates a fact to its class, a plant to its species, or if it traces a phenomenon to certain mediating conditions, as when sound is traced to waves, or if it brings certain events under well-known laws, as when Newton brought Kepler's discoveries under the law of gravitation. Science gives us a general history of *what* happens without raising the further question *why things are what they are*. Again, matter, life, consciousness and *value* are facts of experience studied in their abstract *isolation* by Science, while for Philosophy they are all interconnected as in *human personality*. We are *one*, and therefore the world is one. The experience which Philosophy studies is concrete and whole, while the subject-matter of Science is abstract and partial. Philosophy does not reveal anything wholly *beyond experience*, but presents to us the

order and being of experience itself, taken as a concrete and integrated whole. The objects of Science are *selected* from experience. We select *phases* of events for study in Science. We can look upon *man* as either a physico-chemical being, with certain weight and measurement, or a biological unit of the human species, or as a psychological, ethical or religious being. In this sense, the subject-matter of science is *abstractions* from the real, plane diagrams from the solid object. It is a true enough representation of certain aspects of experience, and useful for certain specific purposes. The useful is not, however, necessarily true. The *ultimate structure* of the universe is not known to Science. Thus there is a tendency in Science to make relative truths into absolute ones, provisional hypotheses into final statements''¹

Science in the course of the few centuries of its development has undergone a great change. The *love of knowledge*, to which the growth of Science is due, is Science and values, itself the product of a two-fold impulse.

We may seek knowledge of an object because we love the object or because we wish to have *power* over it. The former impulse leads to the kind of knowledge that is *contemplative*, the latter to the kind that is *practical*. In the development of Science the power impulse has increasingly prevailed over the love impulse. To the man who wishes to change his environment Science offers astonishingly powerful *tools*, and if knowledge consists in the power to produce *intended changes*, then Science gives knowledge in abundance. But the desire for knowledge has another form, belonging to an entirely different set of emotions. The mystic, the lover, and the poet are also seekers after knowledge—not for the purposes of power, but for the ecstasy of *contemplation*. "Science in its beginnings was due to men who were in love with the world. They perceived the beauty of the stars and the sea, of the winds and the mountains. Heraclitus and the other early Greek philosophers

1. S. Radhakrishnan : Idealist View of Life,

felt the strange beauty of the world almost like a madness in the blood. But, step by step, as science has developed, the impulse of love which gave it birth has been increasingly thwarted, while the impulse of *power* has gradually usurped command in virtue of its unforeseen success. The lover of nature has been baffled, the tyrant over nature has been rewarded. This is the fundamental reason why the prospect of a scientific society must be viewed with apprehension."¹ Knowledge is good and ignorance is evil. Nor is it power in and for itself that is the *source of danger*. What is dangerous is *power wielded for the sake of power*, not power wielded *for the sake of genuine good*. Power is not one of the *ends of life*, but merely *a means to other ends* and until men remember the *ends that power should subserve*, Science will not do what it might to minister to the good life.

What, then, are the *ends* of life? This is the sphere of *values*, which lies outside Science, except in so far as science

consists in the pursuit of knowledge.
Ends and Ideals.

Science as the pursuit of power must not obtrude upon the sphere of values, and scientific technique, if it is to enrich human life, must not outweigh the ends which it should serve. This is the province of Philosophy—the pursuit of beauty, culture, wisdom and goodness. Our world has a heritage of such *ideals* but unfortunately we have been handing on this heritage only to the less active and important members of each generation. The government of the world and its key-positions of power have fallen into the hands of men, in whose thoughts and feelings traditional wisdom has no place: mechanism and organization are what interests them. Mere increase in the production of material commodities is in itself *not* a thing of great value. To prevent extreme poverty is important, but to add to the possessions of those who already have too much is a worthless waste of effort. To prevent crime is necessary, but to invent new

1. Bertrand Russell: *The Scientific Outlook*.

crimes in order that the police may show skill in preventing them is less admirable. The new powers that Science has given to men can only be wielded safely by those who, whether through the study of History or through their own experience of life, have acquired some reverence for human *feelings* and some tenderness towards the emotions that give colour to the daily existence of men and women. A world without delight and without affection is a world destitute of value. These things the scientific manipulator must remember, and if he does, his manipulation may be wholly beneficial. All that is needed is that men should not be so intoxicated by new power as to forget the truths that were familiar to every previous generation. A new *moral* outlook is called for, in which submission to the powers of nature is replaced by *respect for what is best in man*. Science having delivered man from bondage to nature has the further task of delivering him from bondage to the *slavish part of himself*. Here it is that philosophic insight of the true values is superior to scientific technique.

About the ideal goal of human effort there exists in our civilization, and for nearly three thousand years there has existed, a very general agreement. In **Ends and Means.** the Golden age to which we look forward there will be liberty, peace, justice and brotherly love. 'Nation shall no more lift sword against nation,' 'the free development of each will lead to the free development of all.' But with regard to the *roads* which lead to that goal there is no such agreement. Here unanimity and certainty give place to utter confusion, to the clash of contradictory opinions, dogmatically held and acted upon with the violence of fanaticism. There are some who believe that the royal road to a better world is the road of *economic reform*. For some, the short cut to Utopia is *military* conquest and the hegemony of one particular nation; for others, it is armed revolution and the dictatorship of a particular class. All these think mainly in terms of social machinery and large-

scale organization. There are others, however, who approach the problem from the opposite end, and believe that desirable social changes can be brought about most effectively by changing the individuals who compose society. Of the people who think in this way, some pin their faith to education, some to psycho-analysis, some to applied behaviourism. There are others who believe that no desirable change of 'heart' can be brought about without super-natural aid. There must be, they say, a return to religion—but they cannot agree on the religion to which we should return.

But what is the '*ideal individual*' into whom the changers of heart desire to transform themselves and others? Here again there is a bewildering multiplicity of ideals from which we have to choose. Every age and class has had its ideal and each one is the fruit of particular social circumstances. In Greece, there was the ideal of the magnanimous man, a sort of scholar and gentleman, there has been the feudal ideal of the chivalrous man, the 18th century ideal of the 'philosopher,' the 19th century idealized the '*respectable*' man, the present century is witnessing the rise and fall of the 'liberal man' and the emergence of the "sheep-like social man and the god-like leader." Here a

The 'non-attached' man.

significant fact comes to light: all the *ideals* of human behaviour formulated by those who have been most successful in freeing themselves from the *prejudices* of their time and place are singularly alike. Liberation from prevailing conventions of thought, feeling and behaviour is accomplished most effectively by the practice of '*disinterested virtues*' and critical intellect. But the way in which intellect is used depends upon the *will*. Where the will is not disinterested, the intellect tends to be used merely as an instrument for the rationalization of passion and prejudice, for the justification of self-interest. Such liberated individuals have generally come to the conclusion that the ideal man is the '*non-attached*' man: non-attached to his bodily sensations and lusts, to his craving for power

and possessions, to the objects of his various desires : non-attached to his anger and hatred as well as to his exclusive loves : to wealth, fame, social position, even science, art, speculation, philanthropy. Non-attachment to self and to what are called 'the things of this world' is associated in the teachings of philosophers and founders of religions with attachment to an ultimate reality greater and more significant than even the best things this world has to offer. But '*non-attachment*' is not a 'negative' attitude of indifference or isolation from the social environment : it imposes upon those who practise it the adoption of an intensely positive attitude towards the world. It entails the practice of all the virtues—the practice of charity, courage, generosity and disinterestedness, as well as the cultivation of intelligence. "The non-attached man is one who puts an end to pain, not only in himself, but also, by refraining from malicious and stupid activity, to such pain as he may inflict on others. He is the happy or 'blessed' man as well as the '*good*' man. Such are the ideals for society and for the individual which are widely and generally accepted. But instead of advancing towards the ideal goal, most of us are rapidly moving away from it."¹

Real Progress is progress in charity, in humanity and in our regard for truth. There is a definite regression in contemporary social and political affairs in all these matters. Technological advance is rapid, but without progress in charity, such advance is useless. Indeed, it is worse than useless. It has merely provided us with more efficient means for going backwards. There is, for instance, organized lying, taking the form of propaganda, inculcating hatred and vanity, and preparing men's minds for war. It has been said that at no period of the world's history has organized lying been practised so shamelessly and so efficiently (thanks to the modern advance in technique—the Press, the Radio, the State-controlled system of education) and on so vast a scale as by the political and economic dictators of the present

1. Aldous Huxley : *Ends and Means*,

century. The chief aim of these liars is the eradication of charitable feelings and behaviour in the sphere of international politics. We are becoming more and more idolators, our idols being the nation, the class and even the deified individual, like Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini.

The question, then, is, how can existing society be transformed into the ideal society, described by the prophets, which we all desire? How can the average sensual man and the exceptional ambitious (more dangerous) man be transformed into those "non-attached" beings, who alone can create a society significantly better than our own? The answer to these questions is not so simple as the questions are. Human activity is complex, human motivation exceedingly mixed. By many thinkers, this many-sidedness of men's thoughts, opinions, purposes and actions is insufficiently recognized. Over-simplifying the problem, they prescribe an over-simplified solution. When we try to 'explain' a complex situation, we want to analyze the situation into its simpler constituents, and then try to discover causal connections. Causation in human affairs is multiple—any given event has *many causes*. Hence, it follows that there can be no single sovereign cure for the diseases of the body politic. The remedy for social disorder must be sought *simultaneously* in many different fields,—the political, the economic and the field of *personal* behaviour. In every field we have to *realize* the ideal *ends* at which we all profess to be aiming. This involves us in a discussion of the relation of *means to ends*. Good ends can be achieved only by the employment of appropriate means. The end cannot justify the means, for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced.

This is the purpose and content of *Philosophy* as applied to human affairs. What sort of world is this, in which men aspire to good and yet so frequently achieve evil? What is the sense and point of the whole affair? What is man's place in it and how are his ideals, his system of values,

related to the universe at large? It is in the light of our conceptions and beliefs about the ultimate nature of reality that we formulate our conceptions of right and wrong: it is in the light of our conceptions of right and wrong that we frame our *conduct*, not only in the relations of private life, but also in the sphere of Politics and Economics. Thus our philosophy, so far from being irrelevant, is the finally determining factor in all our actions.

There is a widespread belief that the ends we all desire can best be achieved by manipulating the structure of society

by carrying through of certain large-scale political and economic reforms. Their

Large scale social reform.

aim is to create social circumstances of such a nature that individuals will not be given opportunities for behaving in an undesirable, *i e.*, an excessively 'attached' way. This is a branch of '*preventive ethics*,' at which the reformer aims. He believes that man's environment can be so well organized that the majority of temptations will never arise. In the perfect society, the individual will practise non-attachment, not because he will be deliberately and consciously non-attached, but because he will never be given the chance of attaching himself. It is obvious that social reforms have, in the past, had the effect of reducing the number of temptations into which individuals may be led; when the absence of temptation has been prolonged for some time, an *ethical habit* is created: we begin to think that the evil into which we are not led is something monstrous and hardly even thinkable. Generally we take to ourselves the credit that is really due to circumstances. But there are many people who believe themselves to be fundamentally human, and actually behave as humanitarians, who would behave quite differently in changed circumstances. The English, *e g.*, on the whole, are a good-humoured and kindly people *at home* and generally imagine that they would be quite incapable of performing or watching cruel acts, but their ethical standards undergo a profound change when they

cross the Red Sea, on their way to the East. Things which would be absolutely unthinkable at home are not only thinkable, but do-able and actually done abroad.

Hence the importance of preserving intact any long-established habit of decency and restraint and the vital necessity of avoiding war, whether international or civil. For war, if it is fought on a large scale, destroys more than the lives of individual men and women; it shakes the whole fabric of custom, of law, of mutual confidence, of unthinking and habitual decency and humaneness, upon which all forms of tolerable social life are based. Long immunity from war and civil violence can do more to promote the common decencies of life than any amount of ethical exhortation.

We see, then, that large-scale manipulation of the social order can do much to preserve individuals from temptations which might otherwise be almost irresistible. But we must not forget that reforms may deliver men from *one set of evils*, only to lead them into evils of another kind. It often happens that reforms merely have the effect of transferring the undesirable tendencies of individuals from one channel to another channel. An old outlet for some particular wickedness is closed; but a new outlet is opened. The wickedness is not abolished; it is merely provided with a different set of opportunities for *self-expression*, e.g., the recent history of that main source of evil, the lust for power, the craving for personal success and dominance—the passage from violence to cunning, from power in terms of military strength and the divine right of aristocracy to power in terms of *finance*. In

Russia, where it has become impossible

Can we change
Human Nature?

for individuals to use *money* as a means
for dominating their fellows, (on account

of the abolition of private ownership of the means of production) the lust for power has been deflected into another channel—there the symbol and the instrument of power is *political position*. Men seek not wealth but a strategic post in the hierarchy,—position there is more important than money. Ambition has been divorced from avarice more or

less effectively but the lust of power manifests itself in a chemically pure form. The cynic smiles indulgently and says, 'You can't change *human nature*.' But the anthropologist and the historian replies by pointing out that human nature has in fact been made to assume the most bewilderingly diverse forms, the most amazingly improbable ones. It is possible to arrange a society in such a way that even the lust for power cannot easily find expression, *e.g.*, in some primitive cultures. Scientific progressiveness and our capacity for making rapid social changes has been associated in our age with *aggressiveness*. But, is this association necessary, inevitable or inherent in the nature of things? Or is it arbitrary and accidental? If the latter, we can certainly dissociate the two and try to build a new culture, a new pattern which will be a blend of the old and the new. Thus, the 'unchanging human nature' can be, and has been, profoundly changed. Most of our associations of behaviour-patterns in human societies can be dissociated and their elements reassociated in other ways. Large-scale manipulations of the social structure bring about such 'changes in human nature', but these changes are rarely fundamental. They do not abolish evil, they merely deflect it into other channels. But if the ends we all desire are to be achieved, there must be more than a mere reflection of evil; there must be *suppression at the source, in the individual will*. Hence large-scale political and economic reform is not enough. The attack upon our ideal objective must be made, not only on this front, but also and at the same time on all the others. The forces *in man* as well as those *without* him must be simultaneously tackled.

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Social Philosophy ‘concentrates its attention on the social unity of mankind, and seeks to interpret the significance of the special aspects of human life with reference to that unity.’¹ It seeks to study Values, Ends, Ideals,—not what exists or has existed or may be expected to exist, but rather the meaning and worth of these modes of existence. This must not, however, be taken to imply that it can afford to ignore what exists as historical or political or economic *fact*, or what has been ascertained in the course of the development of particular social sciences. We cannot safely ignore anything in Philosophy. But it is not the special province of Social Philosophy to discover facts—it has to accept its facts from other sciences. It has to interpret the significance of these facts, to critically evaluate them.

According to *Hobhouse*, the work of *Social Philosophy* consists in setting before ourselves “a conception of the harmonious fulfilment of human capacity as the substance of happy life,”² and in enquiring into the conditions of its realization. We consider laws, customs, institutions, in respect of their functions, not merely in maintaining any sort of social life,

1. Mackenzie. *Outlines of Social Philosophy*.

2. Hobhouse: *Elements of Social Justice*.

but in maintaining or promoting a *harmonious* life. The value of such theoretical discussion "lies in clearing up the conditions of success, in measuring results, in recognizing elements of success and failure, and planning necessary readjustments." Social Philosophy is not an attempt to apply abstract principles without experience. On the contrary, "the only valid principles are those that emerge out of our experience, and the function of the highest generalisations is to *knit our partial views together in a consistent whole*. "To promote unity of aim among men of good-will, and lay a basis of co-operation between those attacking different sides of the social problem, is the practical problem of Social Philosophy."³

We must confess at the start that Social Philosophy, like Philosophy, in general, has no directly practical results. It "bakes no bread," it cannot give us any detailed *recipes* of social, political or economic forms. Its practical value, however, lies in helping us to see what are the *guiding principles by which our course has to be directed*: it gives the practical reformer a general sense of direction, a goal, a purpose, an ideal, in the light of which he shall organize his *recipes*. Human life is highly complex and variable. "But its complexity and variability can be fairly explained and made intelligible by emphasizing the *ideal to which it constantly looks and tends*."⁴ When we study the ideal, we

3. Mackenzie: An Introduction to Social Philosophy.

4. Ibid.

study man and society in a dynamic fashion,—not what it is, but what it has in it to become: its potentiality of progress and achievement, and not the limited actuality of frustration and retardation. Man, we must remember, is midway between an animal and God, and is not wholly subject to the conditions of either. It is thus not enough to treat human life as the life of *reason* and to lay down mere *abstract principles* for its guidance. We have to study all the aspects of human life, with imaginative insight as well as with scientific precision. The experience of life has to be called in, the poets and the prophets have to be called to our aid, as also the more abstract and scientific thinkers.⁵

Progress consists in rising from the lower to the higher. Hence we have chiefly to aim at the control of what is lower in our nature and surroundings by what is higher. We may roughly and broadly stress three main aspects of the kind of control that it is important to secure: (i) the control of natural forces by human agency; (ii) the control of individuals by the *communal spirit*; (iii) self-control. The first leads to scientific, industrial and economic development; the second leads to political development, improvement of legal codes and finally to harmonious international relations. The third leads to educational and cultural development, the strengthening of character, the subordination of the lower needs, the control of the animal impulses and

Three main lines
of progress

the wise direction of the higher desires. It is important that "progress along these lines has to be *simultaneous*, otherwise there would be a one-sided development, leading to the starvation and degeneration of the other sides." Again, "*there is a progressive realization of our social ideals in these three aspects, the last being the most important, as it reacts on the first.*"⁶ It is no use if we gain the whole world, but lose our soul. This is the danger of modern western civilization, which has tended, on the whole, to emphasize the importance of gaining control over the *forces of nature*, to the neglect of the other two aspects. The result is that we have tended to become enslaved by *our own instruments*. "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind," said Emerson. Thus, though modern Science and Economics should give us plenty of food and clothing, on account of international discord and spiritual degeneration, we find *poverty and hunger facing us in spite of plenty*. Such is the correlation of the various needs and aspects of human life that *neglect of its higher aspects affects even the lower*, though we may give our whole-hearted attention to the latter.

In the broadest sense, Sociology is the study of *the whole life of man in society*. It is the study of human interactions and inter-relations, their conditions and consequences. But no science could make any progress if it attempted to deal with the whole tissue of human relationships in their infinite

Social Philosophy
and Social Science.

details : so recently there has been an attempt to limit the field. Two types of answer have been given by sociologists to this attempt : (a) the conception of Sociology as a clearly *defined specialism* designed to mark Sociology off very clearly from other branches of social study : (b) the view of it as a synthesis of all social studies. According to *Max Weber*, a leading sociologist of the first type, the aim of Sociology is to interpret or 'understand' *social behaviour*, which does not cover the whole field of human relations. It is defined as activity which, in the intention of the agent, has reference to, and is determined by, the be-

Max Weber on the
aim of Sociology

haviour of others. The laws of

Sociology are empirically established probabilities or statistical generalisation of the course of social behaviour of which an interpretation can be given in intelligible terms. The analysis and classification of types of social relationship, however, have to be conducted *in the abstract* without full knowledge of the terms which in *concrete life* they relate. This leads to *special sociologies*, e.g., the sociology of religion, of art, of law, of knowledge, and we have the problem of relating these to the general systematic Sociology. As all parts of social life are intimately related and interwoven, changes at any one point have repercussions that affect the whole. Thus we are led to the *second type of views on Sociology*, viz., that societies should be studied as *wholes*, and that the nature of the interactions between its various elements should be understood. There is, therefore,

clearly need for a *general and systematic Sociology*, which, utilizing the results arrived at by the specialists, is concerned more particularly with their inter-relations and seeks to give an interpretation of social life as a whole. This conception of Sociology

Hobhouse's definition of Sociology.

is represented by Hobhouse, for whom Sociology is a *synthesis of numerous social studies*; but the immediate task of the sociologist is twofold: (i) as a *specialist*, he must pursue his studies in his particular part of the social field, (ii) he must prepare the ground for the ultimate *synthesis*, by a discussion of the central conceptions from which such synthesis might proceed, by an *analysis of the general character of social relationships* and by a study of the factors of *permanence and change, and the nature and conditions of social development*. Thus synthesis and detailed or specialized study are both necessary and must proceed simultaneously. The chief functions of *Sociology* are (i) to provide a classification of the *types and forms of social relationship*, specially of those which have come to be defined in institutions and associations, (ii) to determine the relation between different *parts or factors of social life*, (iii) to disentangle the *fundamental conditions*

Functions of Sociology.

of social change and permanence. This leads Sociology to deal with the general laws of Biology and Psychology, on the one hand, and to stand in friendly relation to History, Jurisprudence and Anthropology, for empirical data, on the other. The method of Sociology is thus a combination of inductive generalization (obtained

by means of the comparative method or by statistical methods) with deduction from more ultimate laws of Biology and Psychology. But we need not commit ourselves to the view that *Sociology is, in the long run, nothing but Applied Psychology*, and we can leave open the possibility of arriving at *independent laws governing the life and evolution of human societies as such*.

This emphasis on the *synthetic character* of Sociology, put forward by Hobhouse and generally accepted now-a-days, leads us to the question: how to distinguish *Sociology as a science from Social Philosophy*. On the whole, we may say that while *Sociology, as a science, deals with facts*, *Social Philosophy deals with values*. Thus the latter is normative and regulative, rather than positive or historical.

Thus, *Sociology* is the science which attempts to lay bare the natural laws which govern society, conceived of as a manifestation of *organic life*. It traces cause and effect in the life of societies, informs us of the conditions favourable to the continued vitality, integration and growth of societies, of the consequences that may be expected to ensue from certain conditions, circumstances, pursuits, beliefs, policies, etc. It does not attempt to dictate to us the *direction* in which *we ought to go*, but the knowledge it provides increases the hold of statesmen and social reformers over Nature and so enables them to achieve more easily and with less risk of failure whatever aims they may place before themselves. It enables us to diagnose a situation and

predict certain results. It sets limits to utopian dreams, holds the statesman and social reformer within the bounds of reality and nurtures their practical faculties. Thus, Sociology refrains from giving us any information on the subject of the *ends which we ought to pursue*. This latter is the task of Social Philosophy. Rational progress is only possible when we know the *end to which it is desired to progress*. It is important to know *what society is*, not what it *thinks itself to be*, for in this it may be mistaken. What society *needs* is not necessarily what it *wants*, nor, it must be added, is it necessarily what it is *going to want*. But this implies a reference to a *standard, a norm*, in the light of which we could decide what society *ought to want* in harmony with its fundamental nature. We may illustrate this by

What society
ought to want.

reference to the period of Greek History, when Socrates and Plato appeared on the scene. The Sophists, who were the recognized teachers of the day, had *one* great shortcoming, viz., they were the teachers, but not the *leaders of the age*, for they only *followed* the tendencies of the age, and supplied not what it *needed*, but what it *demande*d. The moral instruction they gave was, as a rule, merely the *reflection* of the

The Sophists and
Socrates.

morality practised and accepted by the average man, neither better nor worse. Against this, Socrates and Plato stood up for a profound analysis of the *real needs of society*, and for putting up objective standards of thought and action, in place of the relative and subjective whims or caprice of this or that individual.

Thus, though Socrates was condemned to death, we may say that *he expressed more faithfully than his judges the morality which his society stood in need of.*

Thus we may say that, though *Sociology and Social Philosophy* are intimately inter-woven and must be studied side by side, they must not be confused, and at each stage in the inquiry, we ought to know whether we are dealing with *facts as they are*, or with what we regard as *desirable or moral*. "We must avoid thinking either *that things happen because they are good* or *are good because they happen*, otherwise our statements of fact will be biased and our judgments of value corrupted." Thus the study of *sociological fact* and the study of *social values* should be kept distinct:

Social values though in a complete study of human life the two types of inquiry must be brought together and there would be a final synthesis, but not a fusion, of Sociology and Social Philosophy.

This leads us to the next question: what is the relation of Social Philosophy to Ethics? Both are primarily normative, both deal with ends, ideals,

values. Ethics deals with the ends that are aimed at by individuals in their daily activities. It is con-

Social Philosophy and Ethics cerned primarily with the conduct of individuals. Social Philosophy is concerned with communities and social institutions. But individuals always live within a community and these communities are composed of individuals. Thus the ultimate ends pursued by the *individuals* and by the *communities* are essentially the same, though there is enough material relating to

the two sides to form separate studies. It is possible to treat Social Philosophy as a *continuation of Ethics*, as we find in Plato and Aristotle.

Hobhouse follows the same practice. Social and political institutions, according to him, are not ends

Is Social Philosophy
a continuation of
Ethics?

in themselves. They are organs of social life, good or bad, according to the *spirit* which they embody.

Thus Politics and Social Philosophy must be subordinate to Ethics. This need of a reasoned ethical basis for social and political reform was first recognized in England by Bentham and Mill. Mackenzie, however, finds it desirable to give Social Philosophy an independent start. In this he is supported by Prof. Cole, for whom "Social theory is not *subordinate* but complementary to Ethics," which he defines as "the theory of *individual conduct*." For Hobhouse, on the other hand, Ethics must not be studied "in fragments but as a whole." It is the *theory of Ends or Values*, whether realized in *social relations* or through *individual conduct*. His method is

Social theory of
Cole.

to lay down *first* a theory of Ends, and then to deduce the *principles of social organization* therefrom.

According to Ginsberg, Social Philosophy consists of two parts, *critical or logical*, and *constructive or synthetic*. The former is concerned with the *Logic of the social sciences* and with the validity of the methods and principles which they employ. It discusses such problems as whether law in the sense of necessary connection can be said to hold in the field of human

7. Cole : Social Theory.

endeavour, and how such regularities are related to the human will ; or whether the element of individuality introduces a factor of *uncertainty* fatal to any serious sociological generalization. "On its constructive side, Social Philosophy is concerned with the *validity of social ideals*." From this angle it is an application of the results of Ethics to the problems of social organization and social development. "It is clear, then, that Social Philosophy is more than mere *Applied Ethics*. It is the *Philosophy of History* and the *social sciences* in general." Thus it is both deductive and inductive in method, both logical and ethical in character.⁸

In modern times, political science has come to be concerned essentially with three problems, partly philosophical and partly scientific.

**Social Philosophy
and Politics.**

Firstly, it is the study of the actual forms of Government and the conditions of their rise, persistence or change ; *secondly*, it deals with the nature of the *ends* which Governments should serve and with the moral basis of authority ; *thirdly*, it is an investigation of the technique or art of governmental *administration*. It is clear that Social Philosophy has no direct interest in the first and the third sets of problems of political science. It is, however, fundamentally interested in the second, viz. in political theory. It studies actual forms of Government or the practical art of administration, only as indirect aid to the formulation of a satisfactory theory of the State. In this respect, the scope of Social Philosophy is narrower

8. Ginsberg : Sociology (H. U. Lib.)

than Politics. But, in another respect, its scope is *vastly wider*. Social Philosophy arises out of the demand to extend the field of theoretical inquiry to institutions other than the State, e.g., the family, property, Morals, Religion and Art, regarded as social products and seen in their relation to each other. Again, Social Philosophy attempts to interpret the whole course of human history as part of a wider "Welt-anschau-ung"—a general theory of Reality. Thus it has a direct connection with the Philosophy of History.

Industry and commerce form so large a part of the activities of human societies that their place is necessarily considered with some care in Social Philosophy. The science of Economics deals with the details of all the complex problems that arise in this connection. Economics has lately developed into an exact science, as the problems in this field are to a great extent capable of being stated in terms of *quantity*, and lend themselves readily to mathematical treatment. But its exactness has sometimes been questioned and its practical applications have sometimes to be modified in the light of investigations carried on by the other social sciences. Hence Economics has been defined as the science not only of *wealth* but also of *welfare*. Again, the recent conflict between Capital and Labour, and the increasing demand of the wage-earner to receive proper attention on account of the growth of the *democratic process*, has led the Economist to revise his theories in the light of centemporary political and

Social Philosophy
and Economics.

international developments. Thus, Economics provides many intricate and practical problems to the student of Social Philosophy.

What is specially characteristic of human life is *Mind*. The human desires, instincts and emotions cannot be ignored in considering the growth and activities of human societies. These aspects of human nature are studied in their more purely individual manifestations by Psychology. But

**Social Philosophy
and Psychology.**

their social manifestations and implications have been recently studied by Social Psychology, which provides a starting-point for the study of Society. Crowd Psychology is a special aspect of Social Psychology, while the study of the origin and growth of language is another aspect. All these studies have great relevance and importance for a proper understanding of the true ends of human society.

Lastly, as human beings are the highest stage in the development of life in the world, Biology is invaluable for our study. With the

**Social Philosophy
and Biology**

advent of the theory of Evolution, advanced by Darwin, and later modified and developed by other Biologists, we start with a new conception of the growth of human society. Herbert Spencer in England and Comte in France, deserve special credit for emphasizing this connection of Social Philosophy with General Biology.

Since the publication of Darwin's 'The Origin of Species,' the biological theory of organic evolution has deeply influenced theory of society. In a sense

the biological factor conditions all others, for in any society a man must live, i e., he must satisfy his physical needs, maintain his health and perpetuate his stock. Thus the doctrine of 'the survival of the fittest' was applied to human beings as well as to plants and animals. There is a struggle for existence, the relatively fitter would survive to maturity and bear offspring and the least fit would perish. Thus, each generation would start a little higher in the scale than their fathers and in that way the *type of manhood* would gradually evolve.

Biological conditions of Social Development

But there was one great obstacle in this automatic process, when applied to humanity. The growth of civilization promoted sentiments of justice which restrained the strong, and a humanity which preserved the weak. The question of '*fitness*' has to be judged by *human standards*. A man may get the better of a struggle with others, because he is harder or meaner or more selfish, or because he is braver, more honourable, more devoted. It is only in an environment in which some measure of justice and humanity is already attained that *justice and humanity will be qualities tending to survival*. We find that all social organization is by its nature *opposed* to the struggle for existence. The development of *organization* means, therefore, the gradual suspension of the struggle for existence. Philanthropy preserves the physically weak, especially if they have any social capacity, intellect or character.

The conception of Natural Selection has thus been found useless in relation to human values. The

'fitness to survive' must be rationally determined and the future of human progress depends, according

Rational Selection
and Racial Pro-
gress

to recent developments in biological theory, upon a judicious selection of parents for each generation. Thus, we pass from

Biology to *Eugenics*, the Science of improvement of the human stock. Social life depends on the characteristics of the individual members of society, which are determined by heredity: hence, the prime function of society is to see that the best type are parents and that the worst are not. The only radical means of extinguishing a disease is to extirpate the *stock* carrying this liability; the same applies to faults of character and lack of intelligence. This matter of selection of parents was advocated first by Plato in the Republic, but no legislator has attempted to apply it on any large scale. Our knowledge of heredity is still in its infancy and modern studies in Psycho-analysis have cast great doubts on the question of the inheritance of mental traits. Again, it is a fallacy to infer that social progress or deterioration is reducible to racial progress or deterioration. Social progress is an expression for advancing organization. Racial progress is an expression for the development of desirable hereditary qualities in the average individual. Again, social changes are far more rapid than biological.

CHAPTER II

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY

Fundamentally, Society is a psychological structure. It is as feeling, thinking, willing beings that we interact. Thus, everything to do with mind affects society, and all psychology is of potential interest to the Sociologist and the Social Philosopher. Nevertheless Sociology is not Psychology. It is not even accurate to say that Psychology studies mind in the individual, and Sociology, mind in society. There is no mind in the individual that is not affected at every turn by social influences, and there is no *mind in society* other than the combined operation of numerous *individual minds*. The distinction is rather this : Psychology seeks to describe the operation of minds *on their own account* : Sociology the operation of *mind on mind* and the effects of their combined action. Sociological truths have generally a psychological basis, but they are directly concerned with what is built on that basis. For example, when a number of minds are similarly affected by similar circumstances, the consequences which ensue are social rather than psychological. The economic law of Supply and Demand would not hold at all if men did not generally desire to supply themselves with their requirements as cheaply as possible, to sell to others as advantageously as possible. The study of these

Sociology, Psychology
and Social
Psychology.

motives belongs to Psychology ; the extent to which they are crossed by other motives is primarily a psychological issue.

But Sociology is not confined to the description of consequences arising from psychological laws. It has also to deal with modifications in the minds of men themselves through their contact with one another. Much more subtle interconnections form the subject of the infant study of Social Psychology which serves as a link between Sociology and Psychology. The most important problems that lie before this science are—(1) What are the distinctive elements in the human mind which determine man's social relations ? (2) How do social relations react upon the mind, developing or modifying its inherent tendencies ? (3) Finally, as we have seen already, all that is in the mind, all its tendencies and even potentialities, have a social bearing. The object of the social psychologist is to specify and describe the operation of those elements which bear most directly and intimately upon the relations of man and man.

Man, it is agreed universally, is a social being, but in virtue of what qualities in particular is he a social being ? Is his sociability mainly a matter of reason or of instinct, of self-interest or of emotional interest ? What is the part played by affections and hatreds, sympathy and antipathy ? How far is the collective life of men the work of an intelligent purpose, and how far of instincts modified and corrected by stubborn facts ? To answer these questions we must arrive at some notion of the

Man as a social
being

place of Reason and Instinct, Purpose and Impulse in human psychology. We have also to take into account all the main aspects of human life. Man has been defined as "an animal with the potentiality of reason, and capable by its gradual cultivation of transforming the activities and the circumstances of his life."⁹ The physical organism is the apparatus which man uses, so we can widen our definition thus : a rational animal of a particular type, with a peculiar and a complicated structure by which his thoughts, feeling and actions are largely determined. Recognizing that man is an animal of a particular type we must go further and recognize that in some respects animal life resembles the

Three main aspects
of Human Life

life of plants, (growth and reproduction of species) though, in other respects, it is evidently higher and more complex, having some capability of locomotion, some degree of sensitiveness to surroundings, instinctive tendencies to action ; higher animals have also complex emotions and large powers of adjustments to the conditions of their lives. Thus we may once more widen our definition of man as "essentially a plant, with highly complex animal characteristics super-added crowned with the potentiality of thought and all that thought implies."¹⁰ This rather cumbrous definition of man has one great advantage, viz., it lays emphasis on the life of man as having *three main aspects*, a vegetative, an animal and a peculiarly human aspect. The glory of human life depends

9. Mackenzie : Outlines of Social Philosophy.

10. Ibid.

on this complexity : but it is also the source of our difficulties and sometimes of our degradation : it also makes a psychological analysis of the human behaviour exceedingly intricate and complicated. On account of a mixture in us of Reason and animal appetites and passions, we may become more beastly than any beast, though we are capable of rising to lofty heights which are truly Divine.

In considering how far we can maintain that man is essentially social, we have to take account of

all the main factors in his constitution. The factors of nutrition, growth and reproduction (which

The social nature
of man

are the *vegetative* elements in man) lead even in animals to more or less definite forms of association; sexual differentiation and intercourse, the protection of the young, who are helpless in some degree for a certain period, the storing of food and the protection of life from common dangers, these can be done effectively only by co-operative action. Hence most of the more highly developed species of animals are naturally gregarious. Societies, said Aristotle, are first formed for the sake of life ; though it is rather for the sake of good life that they are subsequently maintained.

The care of the young, the preservation of food and drink, the provision of adequate shelter and protection, would thus suffice to account for the existence of human societies, even if there were no other circumstances to account for them. It is not natural for a man to be alone, and some form of social unity is implied in his essential *vegetative*

structure. The form of association, however, may vary from time to time and place to place : modes of social behaviour within a single species, though always natural, cannot be always uniform.

Secondly, there are the facts more definitely connected with animal nature that make some form of association natural. The instinct of prey, the fighting instinct itself, leads to organization of associations for defence and for attack : thus even the fighting instinct becomes a bond of union. Strife, as well as love, brings the animals as well as the human beings together. According to Herac-
litus, "the cessation of strife would mean the cessation of life." In human life, we may say that both co-operation and competition, both love and strife, help to give rise to social unity. Mutual aid and rivalry lead to the formation of tribes and peoples. Thus human beings would be naturally social, even if the distinctive attributes of humanity were not added to those common to us with plants and animals.

But finally, Reason, as the special characteristic of man, is essentially a unifying power. The accu-

Is Society natural
to man ?

mulation of knowledge is a co-operative pursuit, to be continued from generation to generation. The preparation of the young to think, and to apply thought in the guidance of their conduct, requires a longer and more intimate association than their preparation to walk or fly. The use of tools and machinery introduces both more mutual aid and more complex forms of competition than the use of

teeth and claws. The use of language binds man to man, and generation to generation, in a way of which no animals are capable, and at the same time introduces a deeper cleavage, and a more intense opposition, between different races and peoples, an opposition that often gives rise to more complex modes of union. Thus, even the diversities that we find in human societies lead us to affirm that some form of association is *natural* to man. *Society rests upon a natural basis*. All the most fundamental facts of human nature give rise to some form of social unity. "There is a natural principle of attraction in man towards man", said Butler. The task for the modern social psychologist is, however, to analyse the various impulses and instincts in man, so as to explain his complex social behaviour. In all social relations we find that two opposed elements in human nature are subtly inter-woven, the one strain is pre-eminently assertive, the other is pre-eminently gentle and tender. This

"The unsocial sociableness of man"

mingling of opposites was expressed vividly by Kant in the phrase, "*the unsocial sociableness of man*"; the same

duality in human emotion is expressed by the Freudian concept of "*ambivalence*." Man wants to win for himself a place among his fellowmen "with whom he cannot live at peace, yet without whom he cannot live at all." Thus we find that self-assertion and aggression are blended, in various and subtle ways, with the opposite elements of self-surrender and a craving for reciprocity in human nature. To interpret this duality in human nature

and its expressions in social life is one of the first tasks of Social Psychology.

According to some psychologists, the social interest has been derived from gregariousness or the "herd-instinct," which gives to the opinions which come from the herd, an authority and a quality of certainty and utter convincingness. In this way, it moulds the whole system of morality and religion : conscience is, on this view, the sense of discomfort aroused by the disapproval of the herd : religion is based upon the realization of inadequacy or dependence felt by individuals and the consequent yearning for completion and absorption within the larger whole. Other psychologists have treated gregariousness not as a single instinct but as a group of tendencies, including imitation, suggestibility and sympathy. Tansley considers gregariousness in man to be secondary, its function being to regulate and control the self-preserving instincts. Westermarck thinks that man was not originally gregarious, but lived in separate families, and that it was only with the increasing food-supply, when tribal life became possible and advantageous, that the gregarious instinct established itself owing to its usefulness. He distinguishes from it the social instinct which is characterized by the tendency to co-operate, by pleasure in the company of other members, and a feeling of mutual kindliness. Drever thinks that the phenomena usually brought under the herd-instinct are only inadequately explained by it. What man needs is far more subtle and varied. He needs the

responses of others and the active interplay of interests. The fact that solitude has such a devastating effect on the human mind shows that a more complex and deeper explanation is required than mere herd-instinct.

Other writers have sought to derive the social impulses from parental love. Darwin originated this idea and McDougall, who has developed it in modern times, holds

**The Parental
Feelings.**

that it is the only altruistic factor in human nature : from it, all truly altruistic striving, directly or indirectly, proceeds. This instinct was primarily maternal, but later was transmitted to the members of the other sex and generalized, so as to be evoked not only by the distress of the child, but by the need of any weak or defenceless creature. Whether we agree to derive all social impulses from the parental feelings or not, we have to grant that life within the family provides the child with the earliest pattern of other-regarding behaviour, and in that sense is of fundamental importance for social life.

An important theory of the foundations of social life has been elaborated by Freud in his later work.

**Love and Aggres-
sion : Ambivalence
of Freud.**

According to Freud, social life is the result of a struggle between love and hate, or the erotic and aggressive tendencies. He is profoundly impressed by the deep-seated feelings of aversion and hostility which infect the most intimate emotional relationships in man ; this is especially to be observed in the case of children. He regards the

element of aggression as primary or underived, and capable, in the absence of inhibiting factors, of unprovoked cruelty : *homo homino lupus*. Social life depends on the control and curtailment of this impulse. This is achieved with the aid of Love or Eros, which he uses in a very wide sense, so as to include Platonic love, sexual love and all forms of attraction. Of the 'libido,' thus understood, the sexual instinct is only a part, viz., that part which turns towards the object. Thus, all tenderness to others is *diffused and aim-inhibited sexuality*.¹¹ This is the root of the family and all wider groups : theoretically, Eros is capable of binding into a unity the whole of mankind. Yet in a sense there is a conflict between the wider libidinal force and sex as embodied in the family. Thus cultural or social life is in great measure based on the restrictions everywhere imposed on sex relations by custom and law. There is a restriction at once of the aggressive elements in human nature and of sexual appetite, by the formation of ideals and the mechanism of identification with the elders in the family or the community. This leads to the evolution of *Conscience*—the inward monitor. In this way, the hostile and aggressive attitude is either turned inwards or transmuted, by the formation of a common tie and a common ideal. Social life is a process, in which the primary impulses are controlled, repressed, and sublimated in the service of Eros, which wages battles against the aggressive elements

Narcissism and Object-love in Freud.

11. Sigmund Freud · "A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis."

in human nature and the inherent enmity of all against all. Ginsberg, in commenting on this account, modifies the Freudian antithesis. According to him, aggression is not primarily a tendency to hurt or destroy, but rather, an intensified form of self-assertion and self-expression, brought into play under conditions of obstruction, or the fear of obstruction, or of loss of independence. It is also an enhanced form of self-feeling and the enjoyment of mastery or power over others.¹² Again, considering Freud's conception of the social tie as essentially libidinal, Ginsberg asks, "Would it not be better to admit the existence of social impulses in their own right, the proper object of which is not sexual satisfaction, but wider intercourse and reciprocal response."¹³ The Family, on this view, is a social group, in which social needs and relationships are complicated by relationships of sex and dependence; and it is necessary to take account of the wider society of which the family is an integral but not self-sufficient element, in order to interpret all the complicated social relations. He thus comes to the conclusion that the *Social Interest* is not to be derived from any one single tendency, such as gregariousness, or sex or the tender impulse of the parental instincts. The fundamental drive is a need to go outside of ourselves, and to enter into relationship with others.

It is not necessarily a desire to co-operate in the service of common ends, nor is it as such benevolent:

12. Ginsberg : Sociology.

13. Ibid.

rather, it is the need of some *reciprocity of response*, which is essential to mental development and constitutes a root interest of the human mind. In sex love the

Reciprocity of response.

social feelings and impulses are individualized and fused with sex in the strict sense. It is this duality in love which accounts for the conflict between sexuality and sociability, the "ambivalence" of Freud. For the concentration of the social impulses in one person must tend to diminish interest in the wider social life. A highly individualistic society which inhibits social contacts and a free expression of social interest may drive the individual to find relief in a closer sexual life or some form of passionate love. Apart from sex, we may have a strong sentiment for particular persons, to whom we may come to stand in a relation of intimate and individual responsiveness. Then, there are the benevolent or protective tendencies, the impulse to pity, or to help or protect others in need, and *sympathy*, which is a compound of imaginative insight and tender impulse, a tendency to respond to the needs of others, stimulated by an imaginative grasp of their situation, and by a kind of identification with them which leads us to imagine ourselves in their position. The craving for response is also characteristic of the antagonistic impulses, and specially of the desire for mastery and *power*. It is also involved in the desire for the approval of others and the dislike of their disapproval. The general social need of others to complete our own lives is thus partly specialized, and partly fused with other specific tendencies in the

relations of social life.

Some psychologists, like Ribot and McDougall, speak of an instinct of *self-assertion*. Ribot called it 'positive self-feeling' and contrasted it with 'negative self-feeling'. This contrast has further been elaborated by McDougall, who speaks of 'self-assertion' or 'self-display' and 'self-abasement' or 'subjection' with their corresponding positive and negative emotions. In his earlier expositions, McDougall connected self-assertion especially with self-display found in the animal kingdom, in connection with courting or mating. Later, he links it up with 'combat' and 'leadership' within the herd in gregarious animals, and includes under it such tendencies as the impulses to domineer, to lead, to assert oneself over, or display oneself before, one's fellows. As to combat, aggression is recognized by Freud and most psychologists as an integral part of the human personality, as an original and underived instinct. William James thought that man was the most ruthlessly ferocious of beasts. Recently, however, some anthropologists have argued that primitive man was gentle and peaceful but the evidence for this hypothesis is inconclusive. The question remains whether there is in man an inner need to fight, to hurt or to destroy, as there is a need to love or to eat and drink. Should we not rather say that the impulse is secondary, and aroused only when other impulses are interfered with? A great deal of pugnacity is certainly connected with thwarting, while it is sometimes the expression of heightened self-feeling; in

other cases, it is the desire for the active exercise of power. But whether there is also an original craving to hurt or to destroy, remains a question, which requires, according to Ginsberg, further investigation. The Freudians, however, basing their case mainly on the observation of the behaviour of children, have come to the conclusion that Hatred and Love are equally important factors in any satisfactory explanation of human activities.

Self-assertion is, in any event, wider than pugnacity or self-display. It is not an instinct, but a general characteristic of the whole make-up of personality, since every activity is an assertion of self, or a mode of self-fulfilment. It passes easily into self-regard and self-interest, and with it is connected the desire for power or domination. This is assertion intensified and made conscious of itself. Here the experience of resistance is of great importance. When resistance is overcome successfully, there is a heightened self-feeling and from the enjoyment, there arises the longing for the exercise of faculty against resistance, the desire to pit oneself against others, the will to overcome and dominate. From this, coupled with the desire for distinction and joy in activity, there develops a desire for power as such, as an end in itself, which ultimately becomes an anti-social factor.

There is no necessary conflict between self-assertion and the social impulses, since in satisfying the benevolent impulses we also express or assert ourselves. There are many people who satisfy their

desire for self-display and power in activities useful to society. On the other hand, calculated self-

**The inter-weaving
of the self-assertive
and the social.**

regard or self-love may come into conflict with particular impulses, whether self-regarding or other-regarding. Thus, self-love may

be overcome by anger and envy, or by an exaggerated and ill-regulated sympathy. Butler thought that the dictates of enlightened self-interest and benevolence are not fundamentally at variance. The causes of conflict are due far more generally to "disharmonies within the self", and to the clash of collective or group loyalties. Families, occupational groups, social or economic classes or nations, each develop their own self-assertiveness in actual or potential antagonism to others. The conflict between egoism and altruism has been much overworked. The clash is far more often between interest in which mingled altruism and egoism appear on both sides. This is another example of the blend of opposite elements in social relations, which we see also in the mixture of domination and good-will in social leadership, of possessiveness and self-devotion in family relationships, of competition and co-operation in economic life; it is thus essential to bear this duality of human nature in mind in the sociological interpretation of Group life.

Individuals come into relations with other individuals through their common or divergent interests in other objects. (a) Different groups or individuals may have a similar attitude to the same object, e.g., a common antipathy or fear or

a common love : the former may serve to unite individuals in war. On the other hand, a love

Common and divergent purposes, leading to types of social relationships for the same object may either unite or separate individuals, according to the nature of the

object sought ; (b) different persons may have different or opposite attitudes to the same object or person. This may facilitate co-operation and exchange, or breed rivalry and conflict. (c) When the nature of the object sought is such that its attainment involves joint action, (either supplementary and indifferentiated, or complementary, as in specialized division of labour), it leads to co-operation. (d) But the nature of objects or ends also affects the character of the personal relations, according as they constitute competitive or non-competitive goods, i.e., according as they are or are not *diminished by use* and affected by scarcity of supply. In the field of economic activity, competition is the rule, because the object generally cannot be shared : while in the sphere of knowledge or other spiritual possessions, sharing in them does not diminish the amount available ; as a matter of fact knowledge increases by sharing and teaching, so that its possession by some actually increases the chance of its being attained by others. Thus knowledge increasingly leads to co-operation and not to an unhealthy competition. (e) Some objects affect all individuals alike, while others have a specific appeal to a limited circle. This also affects our social relationships. It is, thus, as a result of the clash of interests in these different relations, and

the efforts to their readjustment, that there arise the different forms of associations and institutions, varying in range, permanence and coherence with the purposes they embody, and the kind of relations they come to define.

So far we have considered social relations from the point of view of the individual. The relations

The Inter-relation
of Minds in So-
ciety.

between the individual and society

are, however, far closer than this account would suggest. In one

sense, society is the condition of

our having any ends at all, as social life moulds all our ideals and gives form and definiteness to all our impulses. "Man", says Fichte, "only becomes man among men." One of the chief characteristics which distinguish us from other animals is our power of learning and of mutual stimulation. The influence of social environment upon mental development is truly great, though heredity is also a relevant factor. Firstly, the social environment acts selectively upon the inborn potentialities of individuals, eliciting some and inhibiting others. Whether tendencies are repressed, sublimated or given full play depends to a large extent upon the type of family life and the traditions of the larger society. Secondly, the manner in which the inborn tendencies express themselves is also determined by the social tradition. The inborn tendencies have a certain plasticity, and their mode of expression, repression, or sublimation is, in varying degrees, socially conditioned. Thirdly, on the side of knowledge, the influence of society upon individuals is not

less profound and intimate. The individual imbibes methods and principles from the social environment, and 'Thought' depends on it, not only for its expression, but for its inner life. An exaggerated version of this social aspect of our thinking is illustrated in Dewey.¹⁴ Social environment acts both as a stimulus and a selective agent, encouraging and assimilating every thing which fits in with its general requirements and resisting and repelling whatever is incompatible with its needs. This applies not only to thought on social policy, when dominant group interests often unconsciously control the stream of thought, but even in the pure sciences, which also have their social atmosphere, hostile to new or revolutionary ideas. Finally, society provides a mechanism of transmission and accumulation which makes possible the building up of cultural systems, such as language, the sciences and arts. It is this profound penetration of the individual by society, (in the ways outlined above), which has given rise to the problem of the *group mind*. That man is a social animal has

been an axiom of Social Science and Philosophy since Aristotle, but what makes his position unique is his remarkable combination of individuality and sociality, his power of pitting his will against the will of the community, and of gaining an inner independence which enables him to react, in turn, upon the community. This profound duality is somewhat obscured when society is described as a mind, after the analogy of the individual mind. Society is a complex net-work of

14. *Logic or Theory of Inquiry*.

relations between minds. What is meant by calling a society a unity is that it tends to maintain itself as a whole, by the efforts of its parts towards mutual adjustment, and that in this self-maintenance, what counts is not so much the individual efforts, as the way they are corrected, modified, and adapted to each other in the final result. Thus common actions may have consequences which are never willed or foreseen by those who took part in them. The terms 'common mind' and 'common will' really should be taken to refer to a mass of dispositions, or tendencies to thought, feeling, and action, widely dominant in a group. Such a set of dispositions does not constitute a unitary mind or a general will. The psychological factors involved in large-scale and group action are extremely inchoate and obscure, "impalpable congeries of hopes and fears," which certainly has not the character of voluntary decision. As has been well said, "what is general in common action is not will, and what is will is not general."

Rousseau introduced the conception of the general will as an explanation of that persistent contract by

which he conceived that the social

The Conception of
a General Will.

unity is sustained. In this he closely followed Spinoza's conception of a

Common Will and a Common Good. Rousseau's contention is that a group of people may be rightly said to exercise volition and that it is upon such volition that the united action of society depends. According to Mackenzie, the general will is not a mere compromise between different points of view, but rather a decision arrived at by abandoning the

individual standpoint and surveying the situation *as a whole*. This interpretation would seem to involve two things in a general will : (1) the concurrence of a number of persons in a single decision ; (2) the fact that the decision is taken with reference to the *good of the whole group*, and not merely by a balancing of individual wishes. If we take Mackenzie's instance of a family deciding to go somewhere for a holiday, when after talking the matter over, they come to the conclusion that the requirements of one member, who is ill, are more important than those of the others, and the other members of the family agree to waive their claims, this decision might be truly characterized as a general will. It involves, in the words of Green, " a sense of possessing common interests, a desire for common objects on the part of the people."

If society is a net-work of persons or wills, and is not possessed of the kind of unity which we ascribe to an individual self, the next question we have to answer is whether we can regard purpose as applicable to social wholes. This has been doubted by Idealists, on the one hand, and Marxians, on the other. In history, says Engels, "only seldom does that occur which is willed.....out of the conflict of innumerable individual wills and acts, there arises in the world a situation which is quite analogous to that in the unconscious natural world.....Historical events thus appear to be ruled by chance, but wherever on the surface chance seems to dominate, it is always itself dominated by hidden inner laws, which

only remain to be discovered.”¹⁵ From a somewhat different point of view, Bosanquet says in a striking passage : “ It is not finite consciousness that has planned the great phases of civilization, which are achieved by the linking together of the achievements of finite consciousnesses. Each separable intelligence reaches but a very little way, and relatively to the whole of a movement, must count as unconscious. You may say there is intelligence in every step of the connection ; but you cannot claim as design of finite intelligence what never presented itself in that character to any single mind..... Nothing is properly due to mind which never was a plan before a mind.”¹⁶

These arguments are not quite convincing. Even in the individual, the purposes by which he is guided, range in varying degrees of clarity, from a vague unconscious restlessness seeking relief to a clear, conscious and deliberate planning. The results arrived at are often quite different from those we foresaw or desired at the outset. Finally, a man's character is deeper than his consciously formulated aims, and he may act, in accordance with his real character, as guided by his *unconscious* springs of action, though he may himself be unable to formulate any definite principles of his conduct. In social movements we are concerned with vast and complicated interactions which are to a much greater extent unconscious than in the case of the individual, and cannot be easily apprehended com-

15. Engels . Origin of the Family.

16. Bosanquet : Meaning of Teleology,

pletely by any *one* mind. Here, too, there are varying degrees of clarity in the apprehension of ends. Large-scale movements mostly "do not reach the stage of *will* proper; perhaps they do not go beyond the stage of trial and error."¹⁷

The Unconscious Purpose in Social Movements.

Nevertheless, human passions and motives are constantly at work, and could we but disentangle the forces involved, we should see in historical movements everywhere individuals setting up complex webs of relationships, and in turn, being borne along by them. That human needs are a driving force in history is held both by Marxians and the Idealists. "Nothing", says Hegel, "has been accomplished without interest on the part of actors . . . nothing great in the world has been accomplished without passion." Similarly Engels insists that "nothing occurs without conscious intent or willed end." Purposes then operate, though they may not be in themselves sufficient to bring about changes. But the question remains, are they social purposes? Hegel's answer is not helpful, for a purpose of which nobody knows anything is not a purpose. According to Marxians, the laws governing the interactions of human purposes are not psychological laws. Sociology is more than merely Applied Psychology. But the purposes are always in individual minds: minds are interrelated, and the interrelation itself may become an object of *conscious* endeavour. Whether

Hegel and Engels on Social Purpose.

17. Ginsberg: Sociology,

there is an *integrated social will* and a *social purpose* in any actual society or social organization is a matter for detailed examination. The theoretical possibility may be realized *in fact* or may not have been realized. To the degree to which social purpose has been realized in a given society, group or civilization, to that extent it may be said to possess integration and a general will.

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY AS A SOCIAL UNIT

That the family is natural to man is apparent from the fact that it is natural to most of the more highly developed animals. It is

**The Natural Basis
of the Family**

obvious that the care of the young becomes increasingly important in the higher types of animal life, because they tend to be more and more helpless at birth and are more and more in need of care and protection for their development and nurture, and for a comparatively longer duration. We also find that the instincts of the parents become gradually adapted to cope with the biological necessity. The critical burden of responsibility and care and protection falls generally upon the parents, and mainly upon the mother. This may be taken as constituting what Mackenzie calls "the natural basis of the family."¹⁸ Thus the monogamous family which would, *prima facie*, seem to be the best adapted for achieving this biological end, has been declared by many as being the ideal social institution for the true and proper nurture of the human animal. Here both parents can normally devote themselves whole-heartedly, and with cordial co-operation, to the necessary task. This form of family life is seen in its greatest perfection and beauty chiefly in certain species of birds, e.g., the common sparrow, which in other respects are not

18. Outlines of Social Philosophy.

at all closely akin to human beings. On the other hand, dogs and cattle and other mammals, more allied to man, show no definite sanctity to the marriage tie. Thus it has been urged by many thinkers to-day that polygamy and polyandry are more natural to man as well as the other higher mammals. Mackenzie, however, thinks that some birds are closely akin to human beings in an essential point, viz., the need of special care and preparation for the young. "Flying is the natural mission of many birds, as thinking is of men, and the young are, in general, quite unfitted for either of these functions."¹⁹ This argument is very far-fetched and, though attractive and original, is hardly logical. Swimming, preying, speed in running, are equally the natural missions of other animals but no one suggests that the fish, the tiger and the greyhound require a protracted period of early training or the monogamous family. The fact remains that discussion about matters, where intimate human emotions are involved, cannot always be based on logical and rational grounds.

Though we may grant that the family is a natural social unit, we have to ask the question, why the family as a social institution has, in all times and climes, tended to foster the growth of a number of rigid conventions, traditions and even ritual. If we look to the origin of the word "family" itself, we can trace it to the Roman "*famulus*", a domestic slave; the *familia* meant

The Conventional
Aspect of the
Family

19. An Introduction to Social Philosophy (Maclehose, Glasgow, 1890)

primarily "a collection of slaves attached to a household." (*Domus* appears to be the nearest equivalent in Latin for what we understand by a family.) Later, the family came to mean, not merely the slaves, but all the persons included within the household; all regarded, more or less, as property of the head of the family—the father. In the Ten Commandments, we have practically the same conception. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's." It is significant that the children are not mentioned here. It is also noteworthy that while there is a commandment to honour father and mother, there is no commandment to respect children. Possibly it may have been thought that Nature herself might be trusted to teach this. Perhaps the framers of the commandment cited above felt ashamed to include children among the chattels and possessions. Whatever the reason for the omission may be, it is clear that the father, and not the child, was regarded as the centre of the family, and for nearly two thousand years the family as a social institution in Europe has suffered from institution of Private Property and patriarchal domination.

The bourgeois family in modern Europe is the economic unit of capitalist society. Here, where each child begins his development as a social being, are to be found "forms of all the contradictions

Origin of the
Patriarchal Family.

inherent in bourgeois culture as a whole. Here, puritan morality, patriarchal authority and bourgeois property meet.²⁰ In primitive societies where the males had not acquired proprietary rights and women were still free, there was no obligation upon them to be chaste. There is no restriction upon sexual activity as such. As the males acquire proprietary rights over women, they start imposing chastity over them, giving rise to suppression and abnegation of sex, an ascetic morality. With the social development of the means of production the men as hunters usually fall heir to the herds of domesticated animals which begin to be part of the wealth of society. The men use this power to gain proprietary rights over women, a process which disintegrates the primitive *maternal* clans and begins the evolution of patriarchal family life. The growth of agriculture setting men free from the necessity of daily hunting, leads ultimately to the *domination of the male*. As the right of inheritance becomes of greater importance, the male becomes concerned with getting a legitimate heir : he wants a male heir of his own flesh and blood and does not like the idea of leaving property to offspring not his own. This demand requires the fidelity of his wife or wives, a fidelity which in time begins to be extended to the period before marriage. "The commercial value of virginity increases and becomes ultimately a sentimental demand for virginity. Sexual abstinence begins to be demanded of females from birth."²¹

20 Bartlett : Sigmund Freud, p 84.

21. Ibid. p. 102.

These demands are the consequence of the development of private property in the means of production. There is thus a close connection between the dominance of men over women and that of one class over another. "The first class oppression," said Engels, coincides "with that of the female by the male sex".²² This connection is obvious in the western civilization. "The contest between the plebeians and patricians which occupies so considerable a place in early Roman history," says a modern critic, "is not merely part of the eternal conflict between Disraeli's 'two nations', the poor and the rich, but also a conflict between the two forms of organization of human society, the primitive *matrarchal* order and the later *patriarchal* order, brought about by the development of property".²³ Thus, the emergence of class society and with it the dominance of the male, brings the suppression of sex in the life of the female. Through Christianity, chastity becomes a special virtue and the development of patriarchal authority is bound inextricably with the Christian creed that *Sex is sin*. In Western bourgeois society where monogamy prevails, there is a very close relation between the exploitation of female by male and of the masses by the classes.

Fortunately, this was not the original conception of the family in Ancient Hindu Society. Our culture *always* put the child as the head and the *centre* of the entire family; no man could attain salvation, unless

The Family in
Ancient India.

²². Engels : Origin of the Family.

²³. The Mothers : Briffault.

he had completed his earthly existence by begetting children. Though the male child was given the place of honour, the girl was also given much respect, and was even worshipped in her father's home, as the potential mother of the succeeding generations. Much thought and attention was given to her early home training in the domestic arts and crafts, she was taught to look upon her womanhood and motherhood as the highest privileges, and above all, her aesthetic, cultural and religious education were given proper prominence. The truly feminine virtues of endurance, humility, chastity and sympathy were given the first place in the recognized moral code, though intellectual and physical culture was not neglected. It was fully recognized that the woman has not to compete with man, but to supplement him, as his life partner in the great task of the upbringing of the new generation. In any case, whatever the evils that crept into the Joint Hindu Family later on, there is evidence to show that the modern emphasis on the importance of the child was not only anticipated in the Hindu Scriptures but even, perhaps, over-emphasized. The child was never to be scolded or beaten, up to the age of five years but only loved, honoured and obeyed. Much of recent psycho-analytical literature on the upbringing of children only reiterates the fundamentally sound position of the orthodox Hindu.

Taking the child then as the natural basis of the family, we have to regard its preparation for life as the primary function of this institution. "If we may

treat the family as a little State, the child is its legitimate sovereign.”²⁴ The child’s wishes may not always be carried out, but the normal function of the family is to secure what is best, or the best available under the circumstances, for the nurture of the children, with a view to their preparation as citizens of a larger community. The other functions involved in the life of the family are then to be regarded as subordinate to this fundamental conception. But what is logically first is seldom first in the temporal order. A family is founded *in time* by the marriage of two persons of opposite sexes. But marriage need not always result in children, and even, when it does, the union is generally prolonged beyond the period during which the care of children is essential. Hence it is not unnatural to regard love between persons of opposite sexes, rather than the care of children, as the fundamental basis of the family. This is, indeed, a natural basis, and we see it in animal life, as well as in human beings. But we find, on reflection, that it is normally subordinate to the other basis. There may be intense love between individuals of the same sex or between brothers and sisters, leading to associations of a very delightful and valuable kind; but these cannot be called families. It is the possibility of children to be cared for that differentiates marriage from all such associations based on personal affection and friendship. Free love between adults may lead to a fine and valuable mode of union, but unless the

24. Mackenzie: *Outlines of Social Philosophy*.

union is based on the care of children, it cannot be regarded as the essential foundation of the family. The modern argument for "companionate" and "trial" marriages appears somewhat shallow, as compared with the old argument for a permanent marital tie, when we consider the child as the centre and the sovereign of the family.

Again, it is natural that when the parents become feeble and the children come to maturity, the latter should make some recompense for the care that has been bestowed upon them. Even in animals some appearance of gratitude for benefits received is often observed. As the aged persons are often in special need of help, it seems most appropriate that they should receive it from those whom they have brought into being. It must not, however, be imagined that marriage becomes meaningless in the absence of children. The modern use of contraceptives may, in the near future, bring about a situation in which the childless marriage would create new problems for the social philosopher. At present, however, the tendency in totalitarian countries is to encourage, rather than to discourage, families.

The care of the young means primarily the preservation of life and health, (satisfaction of purely "vegetative" needs), but it also includes the development of the animal instincts, especially the need of movement and expression. In man, it falls naturally within the province of the family to cultivate at least the rudimentary use of language, the wise control of the instinctive urges and the

elementary rules of social behaviour. The natural love and affection of parents, and especially of mothers for their offspring, an affection which they have in common with the lower animals, makes it generally true that no others are so well adapted to care for them in their early state of helplessness. In some parents, natural affection and instinct may be comparatively weak, as it may sometimes be stronger in those who are not parents. But we may treat these as exceptional cases which only serve to prove the rule ; these are mostly below or above the *norm*. Again, we have to admit that natural love is not always an adequate guide for human beings in the nature of the young. Those who have made a special study of children and their needs would, in many ways, be better fitted to deal with them ; but this normally does not apply to the first *five*, or at least to the first *three* years of life. Obviously, where one or both of the parents die, or are seriously ill or incapable, or are compelled to be much away from home, or when a child happens to be very different in temperament from its parents or extraordinarily precocious and gifted, or feeble-minded and backward, the conditions are abnormal, and special attention, or clinical guidance and treatment, may become necessary. It seems certain that any arrangement that altogether does away with the element of parental care must be a second-best alternative. Even when the children go to school, the family would appear to be the natural centre for some of the most important aspects of education, especially those relating to conduct and the cultiva-

tion of the affections.

The family, in a larger sense, is also a natural centre of educational influence. *The parents learn a great deal by teaching.* The effort to convey ideas to immature minds always serves to clear up the ideas of those who have to make the effort. Apart from this, there is a certain inspiration in any close intercourse with the younger generation. "A child..... brings hope with it and forward-looking thoughts."²⁵ There is a rich and invigorating experience of a certain expansion of the soul in entering into the lives of those who are younger. It sometimes seems to be an added life to the older, some sort of rejuvenation of the entire personality. This is the common experience of all teachers and parents who enjoy their task and responsibility.

Another important educational influence is the inter-parental one. In any married couple, there are bound to be many differences in temperament, taste, and outlook on life and the world. If there is the tie of natural affection and intimate association in wedlock, much can be learnt by mutual intercourse, if there is emotional maturity on both sides and the desire to understand each other. This aspect of family life deserves more emphasis in modern times, as it has gone into the background on account of the prevailing notion in Europe and America that marriage is a "bankrupt" institution. As a modern writer says, "The disintegration of the family and the decay of the marital institution of the modern world, accompanied by the rise and revolt of youth, are

25. Ibid.

revolutionary developments in our civilization. This disintegration and decay.....are only a phase of a more fundamental revolution that is already tearing at the roots of our social and economic lifeThere is no endeavour in this book to exaggerate the importance of sex in social life. There is an endeavour, however, to attack the stupid silences that have obscured and distorted its consideration in the past.....What we see, then, in the revolution in morals which has occurred in our age, is the harbinger of a revolution in social life which is hastening upon us. The old society is in a state of decay. Its old morals have become bankrupt. The new morals are an outgrowth of its rapid disintegration and chaos.”²⁶

As the care of the young, especially in its earlier stages, falls almost necessarily upon the mother, the father is normally called upon to provide for her support, as well as that of the children. This economic aspect of the family is so important that sometimes marriages tend to be arranged largely on financial grounds ; and even when they are not so arranged, financial considerations are seldom without weight. The economic needs of the family are sometimes prejudicial to its unity, and may seriously interfere with the discharge of its educational functions. In comparatively primitive conditions of life, the family may support itself by labour carried on within the home or its immediate neighbourhood ; but the growing complexity of life renders this less and less

**Economic Functions
of the Family.**

26. Calverton : The Bankruptcy of Marriage.

common. The father may be constantly away, so as to be almost negligible for the special purposes of the family. That the mother should be frequently employed in outside work, that even the young children should be sometimes employed in the discharge of economic functions at a time when their energies should be reserved for growth and education, is a powerful indictment against the maladjustments of modern society. At any rate, under these circumstances, the family is liable to fail, and often does fail miserably, in the discharge of its proper function, viz, to justify its existence as an educational centre.

Indeed, the economic aspect of the family was so prominent in the mind of Marx and Engels that

Marx and Engels
on the Family.

they came to the conclusion as far back as the year 1847, that there is practically no family life among the large majority of the workers in the factories and mills in a modern industrial area. The problem has assumed serious proportions in the world today, as the rising tide of industrialism has overtaken the backward countries like India and China. Those who have seen the condition of the workers in Ahmedabad and Kanpur, for instance, will have to admit that a very large proportion of our rural population is slowly but steadily drifting towards a life of the slums, by sheer economic pressure; the evils of drinking, gambling and public prostitution are now growing so rapidly in our own country that this has already become a social problem of the first magnitude. The words of the authors of *The Communist Manifesto*,

prophetic as they are, are unfortunately beginning to apply with full force to our own country, which can hardly in any sense be called fully industrialized even now. When we consider that, during the last fifteen years on account of the rapid expansion of industry in India, the population of a city like Kanpur has increased by about six to eight lakhs, the overwhelming majority of which are male, bachelor workers, *among whom the family is practically non-existent*, we begin to realize that the family, as a social institution, exists only for those *rich and middle class members of society*, who are indifferent to the appalling misery of the vast majority of our population.

“On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form, this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the

Community of
women.

family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution”.....“The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.....

Nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the communists. The communists have no need to intro-

duce community of women ; *it has existed almost from time immemorial.....* ..Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most what communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that *the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution, both public and private.*"²⁷ We have to admit that the above is a powerful indictment against the bourgeois morals and standards, which has remained unanswered for over a century. The sincerity of the attack, together with its relevance to the world affairs today, make it imperative upon us to meet the charge. The fact cannot be denied that the real point aimed at by the communists is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

We are now in a position to conclude, from the various considerations referred to above, that though the family is deeply rooted in nature, and especially in human nature, there are some essential weaknesses that tend to make it ineffective and even pernicious in its influence. These defects are all connected with certain conflicts that arise between the family and some other important interests in human life. The chief of these interests would seem to be those of industry, politics, comradeship, culture and art. Human nature, as

Weaknesses
the Family

of

27. Marx and Engels: The Communist Manifesto,

we have seen, is diverse and multiple, not a simple unity. There are various currents and cross-currents in man and society, both conscious and unconscious. *We have to satisfy all the conflicting urges of mankind, and yet to preserve the final unity of purpose in the human society. This is the task of Social Philosophy.*

We have already referred briefly to the economic interests of man as disturbing the unity of the family.

Plato's strictures
on the Family.

Plato, however, it is worth noting, does not appear to have felt any special difficulty on this score. In the ideal Republic which he so carefully and elaborately sketched, he did not intend to interfere with the family life of the industrial class. He assumed that children would, in general, follow the employment of their parents or, at least, would not greatly diverge from these, and he seems to have held that, on the whole, it is only right and natural that they should stick to the career for which there are definite facilities, both of home influences at a comparatively early age, and of early home training by some simple form of apprenticeship. But Plato was afraid of *the conflict between the Family and the State*. Consequently, he urged that those who are to be specially concerned with the defence and government of the State should be released from the limiting interests of the family. Even today it remains true that there is acute conflict between the claims that the family makes upon an individual and those that are made by the state. In particular, the claims of the State to provide a suitable education for all its citizens, and to secure that they are

adequately fitted to fulfil their special functions in the life of the larger community, interfere seriously with the claims for parental control that are apt to be put forward on behalf of the family. If, however, we agree to regard *the child as the sovereign of the family*, and the parents as merely counselors, then this difficulty is largely solved, at least in theory. The child, then, remains the sovereign of the family until he becomes the subject of the State, in which also he may eventually acquire a partial sovereignty. This view regards the parents as the trustees of his welfare, till they can find a better trustee in the shape of the School, the University or the State itself.

In the fifth book of the Republic, however, Plato definitely insists on the abolition of the Family in the ruling class. Plato is rightly

Plato's abolition of
the Family in the
ruling class

regarded as a pioneer in the enfranchisement of women. From this point of view, he was perhaps the most daring innovator that the world has ever seen. In no part of his teaching is "his antagonism to convention more marked than in his views concerning the education and duties of women"²⁸ Plato starts the question of women's share in the State by observing that among animals, females not only bear the young and bring them up but also take part in other business. The care of flocks, for instance, or hunting, is the function of dogs, irrespective of sex. Why, then, should not women follow the same pursuits as men, so far as their strength allows? But if

²⁸. Adam : Plato.

they are to do so, they must receive the same education as men in both music and gymnastic. Plato is undaunted by any national prejudice, allowing a perfectly free and open field in all walks of life to men and women alike. All that he cares about is to find the best person to discharge a given work, and he declines to erect

Declaration of the
Rights of Woman
in the Republic

any artificial barriers. *For this bold declaration of the rights of Woman, Plato deserves our admiration and respect, and women in all ages and countries owe an immense debt of gratitude to him* Mackenzie considers it "doubtful whether he really deserves much credit for this," and in this respect, he merely shows his anti-Platonic bias. By quoting an obscure passage from the *Timaeus*, (a less important dialogue of Plato) in support of his contention, Mackenzie really adds insult to injury. The fact remains that no fair critic of the Social Philosophy of Plato can afford to ignore the definite statement and declaration of the Rights of Woman in the Republic. In the *Laws*, which is a work of ripe age, Plato is not a whit less convinced of the good that will accrue to the State through the education of women and their full co-operation in public affairs. The legislator ought "not to let the female sex live softly and waste money and have no order of life, while he takes the utmost care of the male sex, and leaves half of life only blest with happiness, when he might have made the whole State happy."²⁹

29. The Laws : Jowett 806 c., Translation.

If mankind is to be improved by breeding, care must be taken that the best men should unite with the best women. The rulers are to decide what persons are to be joined in wedlock at hymeneal festivals, keeping their methods of procedure a secret only known to themselves. When children are born of good parents, they are to be reared in a State "fold" or nursery, regarding as their parents all those who were brides and bridegrooms at a marriage festival a certain time before their birth. *In this way the guardians will become one family, and by sharing one another's joys and sorrows, they will be bound together by community of pleasure and pain. Moreover, as they may have no private property in lands, houses or other goods, they will be free from all quarrels occasioned by the possession of money or children or kindred.*³⁰

Women, then, are to share with men a common education, common responsibility for bringing up children, common guardianship of the city in peace and war. This, according to Plato, is the natural relationship of the sexes. His co-educational proposal arouses distrust, not so much on its own account, but because of the community of wives and children that seems to follow from it. *To secure and preserve the unity of the State, Plato was forced to destroy the Family as the social unit, lest the bonds of kinship and ties of natural affection might challenge the supremacy, or lead to the disruption, of the State.*

Rousseau's criticism of Plato's scheme

30. The Republic, Book V, p. 464 E.

This has been considered as a great defect in his ideal Republic, and on this ground his communistic scheme has been severely criticized by *Aristotle and Rousseau*. Rousseau says, "Having got rid of the family, there is no place for women in his system of government, so he is forced to turn them into men.....I refer to that subversion of all the tenderest of our natural feelings, which he sacrificed to an artificial sentiment which can only exist by their aid. Will the bonds of convention hold firm without some foundation in nature? Can devotion to the State exist apart from the love of those near and dear to us? Can patriotism thrive except in the soil of that miniature fatherland, the home? Is it not the good son, the good husband, the good father, who makes the good citizen?"³¹ These are formidable questions, but we must admit the strength of Plato's position. The Family must give way to the State, as the National State must give way to the International Federation of all peoples in the world. *The greatest good of the greatest number must be the acid test of Social Justice and Goodness. The lower must yield to the higher in the interest of the whole.*

31. Rousseau : *Emile*, Everyman's Library, p. 326.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Marriage can be defined as a social, economic, sentimental and sexual relation between a man and a woman. But, in certain cases,

Definition of Marriage.

such a relation may not be confined to *two* persons only; it can take place between one man and several women, or *vice versa*. But Westermarck states, there must be a common factor in all types of marriage. "Marriage always implies *the right of sexual intercourse* : society holds such intercourse allowable in the case of husband and wife and, generally speaking, even regards it as *their duty to gratify in some measure the other partner's desire*."³²

This emphasis on sex, however, should not be misunderstood, as *sex alone is not the basis of marriage*.

Love and Sex in Marriage

Marriage means *sex plus the sentiment of love*. "Although love is not the foundation of marriage, it

plays its part in every stage of married life. Love, with its sensitiveness for the intrinsic value of a person, discovers the 'other half' among the many. Both love and the sexual urge are passing sensations, if left to themselves; but just as sexual desirability is perpetuated by love, love is kept alive, if embedded in *marital communion*."³³ Thus, *Love* and *Sex* are two inseparable factors in Marriage, distinguishable but not separable. The one without the

32. E. Westermarck : "A Short History of Marriage," p. 1.

33. O. Schwarz : "The Psychology of Sex," p. 226.

other is unthinkable. *Marriage without Love* is a mere gratification of sex passion, a prostitution legalized and nothing else. *Marriage without Sex*, and the joys that accompany a harmonious marital communion, is a spiritual union of souls but not the full and complete and blissful state of married happiness which all human beings rightly crave for. Marriage also like Love, constitutes a "world" of its own, but whereas the world of love is an exclusive one, the world of marriage is inclusive. That is why, for lovers, the whole does not seem to exist : *the world of marriage, by its very nature, includes the outside world of action* ; moreover, it weaves two persons very closely and intimately in the world in which they live and ultimately fuses them into one personality. Thus, marriage is a wider term, including *the family, the society and the nation*.

When we come to the history and origin of marriage from the very primitive human beings, or going further, from the primitive animal behaviour to the most modern stage of marital union, we find that the type of *behaviour under culture differs essentially from animal behaviour in the state of nature*. We must compare the *chain of linked instinctive responses* which, in animals, constitute courtship, marriage and family with the corresponding human institutions. Among animals, the courtship begins with a change in the female organism, determined by physiological factors and automatically by releasing the sexual response in the male. All the factors which define animal behaviour at this stage are

Origin and History
of Marriage.

common to all individuals of the species. These factors work with great uniformity for each animal species, but, on the other hand, they vary considerably from one species to another. The same is exactly true of family life in the animal world. The

Animal life. stability of relations, during the mating season and afterwards, differs to a great degree in different animals. In the great sub-kingdom of the *Invertebrates*, the relations between the sexes are generally of a *most fugitive nature* and even the *mothers* are exempted from nearly all anxiety as regards their offspring. But, among higher animals, like *mammals*, male and female keep together not only during the breeding season, but also long after it. The parent instinct, thus at this stage, reaches a high degree of *intensity on the father's side as well as on the mother's*.

On the other hand, when we come to study human life in comparison to the animal, we find some striking differences. First, "we see that *in man there is no season of rut*, which means that man is *ready to make love at any time and woman to respond to him*—a condition which, as we all know, does not *simplify human intercourse*. There is nothing in man which acts with the same *sharp determination as does the onset of ovulation in any mammalian female*. . . . In every human culture we find, *first of all, systems of well-defined taboos which rigidly separate a number of people of opposite sexes and exclude whole categories of potential partners*."³⁴ There is no biological release-mechanism in man, but instead,

34 Mahinowski "Sex and Repression in Savage Society," p. 195.

there is a combined psychological and physiological process, determined in its temporal, spatial and formal nature by *cultural tradition*; associated with it and supplementing it, is a system of *cultural taboos*, limiting considerably the working of the sexual impulse.

But the family is not the same in all human societies. Its constitution varies greatly with the level of cultural development and with the *character* of the civilization of the people. Further, it is not the same in *different strata of the same society*. Even a cursory glance at the history of marriage and family life of human beings should tell us that the "*family has changed enormously during the development of humanity, passing from its first promiscuous form, based on sexual and economic communism through 'group-family,' based on 'group-marriage,' 'consanguineous family,' based on 'Punalua marriage,' through the 'Gross families,' and clan kindred to its final form in our present-day society—the individual family, based on monogamous marriage and the patria potestas.*"³⁵

Westermarck, while tracing back the development of marriage among human beings, states that the different systems of marriage, during different ages and among different societies, depended, not on the *sentiments and instincts of men and women* but on the *economic and social conditions*. He further adds that polygamy has always remained more or less restricted to the upper class, a "*vicious luxury of the great.*" This system is adopted in the tribes and peoples where *an additional wife is considered as an increase in one's labour-power*. In *Almora District*,

35. Malinowski: "Sex and Repression in Savage Society," p. 3

in the *Kumaon Hills*, in India, even today we find a living illustration of this fact among the *wealthy peasants*. Again *polyandry*, a form of marriage in which one woman is married to *several men* is prevalent in countries where there was shortage of women. Thus "if one scrutinizes more closely these various types of marriage, their structure, causes, distribution, etc., two basic facts emerge clearly. *Firstly, that monogamy was always the basic and predominant type of human marriage, and secondly, that even in polygamic or polyandric regimes, a trend towards the monogamic principle can be discerned.*"³⁶ According to Schwarz and Westermarck, mankind has preserved this custom of monogamous marriage from our ancestors, '*ape-like men,*' who used to have a monogamous society. This system is rather the consequence of the law of simplification in nature.

In modern times, particularly in scientific circles, the attempt has been made to explain this mysterious trend towards monogamy as the *effect of the principle of economy*. It is one of the archetypes of human conduct; *history and ethnology must prove its ubiquity in space and time.*

Apart from the most important factor which leads towards the tendency of monogamous marriage is the psychological need for love and security. It has been noticed that, *even under most difficult situations, a man tends to limit his love to one woman.* This leads to confidence and security in life. That is why the *position of the wife is of unique importance in the mind of man.*

36. O. Schwarz "The Psychology of Sex," p. ge 222.

The giants of modern scientific ethnology have worked out a scientific and simple theory, that in the beginning was "the darkness of promiscuity" and that "the moral genius of Western humanity has gradually produced from this chaos the heights of mid-nineteenth century prudery."³⁷ Lewis Morgan has tried to work out the theory that the development of marriage took place in a straight line from *chaos to monogamy*, passing through several stages,—unrestricted promiscuity, consanguineous family, group marriage, matriarchy, patriarchy, polygamy and finally monogamy. This charmingly simple theory is of great appeal but it has to be discarded as an unwarranted simplification and a distortion of facts of history. Nature or History does not work in *such neat logical sequence*.³⁸

According to Mahatma Gandhi, marriage is, and ought to be, a sacrament : the union is not the union of bodies but the union of souls, indissoluble even by the death of either party. "Where there is a true union of souls, the remarriage of a widow or widower is unthinkable, improper and wrong. Marriages, where the true law of marriage is ignored, do not deserve the name. If we have very few true marriages nowadays, it is not the institution of marriage that is to blame, but the prevailing form of it, which should be reformed." Again, "marriage is a fence, that protects religion. If the fence were

37. Ibid, p. 84

38 Ibid. p. 222.

to be destroyed, religion would go to pieces. The foundation of religion is restraint, and marriage is nothing but restraint." (*Young India*, June 3, 1926.) Again, a decade later, Gandhiji, (writing in the *Harijan*, March 20, 1937, on 'Married Brahmacharya') says : "When a man has completely conquered his animality, involuntary incontinence becomes impossible, and the desire for sexual gratification for its own sake ceases altogether. Sexual union then takes place only when there is a desire for offspring."³⁹ According to this view, the sexual act is "*only a means for procreation, never for self-indulgence.*" But our account of the Family as a natural social unit and Marriage as a social institution is based on a clear recognition of the vital urges of normal, healthy men and women. When we grant that the *vegetative* and *animal* aspects of human nature are as necessary as the *rational* aspect, we mean that man has to become *a complete animal before he can become a complete human being, and long before he can attain Godhood.* It is in this sense that the famous Urdu poet of Delhi, *Ghalib*, says, "*It is very hard for man to become truly human.*"

“आदमी को भी मुयस्सर नहीं इससँ होना ”

Gandhiji tries, as an Idealist, to make us godlike, before making us human. Even humanitarian religion is not popular in the present century : Divine religion is a glorious Utopia. We should be more than satisfied, if we could be persuaded to love

39. Gandhi : Self-restraint versus Self-indulgence.

and serve humanity, to love God is impossible, unless we are first able to love our neighbour.

We must, then, first try to understand human nature, and work out the vital urges by giving them proper guidance and wise direction.

**Self-restraint and
Brahmacharya**

Self-restraint in connection with religion is difficult to understand; self-restraint in connection with marriage seems psychologically contradictory. It is because Gandhiji had captivated the hearts of thousands of educated young men and women throughout this vast country that we are compelled here to make a pointed reference to his conception of marriage. By his sincerity, courage and devotion, he impressed our educated youth with his ascetic ideas about sex and Brahmacharya, and created a confusion in their adolescent and impressionable minds. We feel that Gandhiji, who deserves universal respect and admiration is most misleading, when he writes about matters in which he goes against scientific research. Contemporary studies of glands in Physiology and the detailed study of the Child and the Adolescent in Psychology have conclusively shown that self-restraint has got serious limitations, and that much creative energy for intellectual and social work can be released, if sex is allowed to work off its energy normally and spontaneously. The Freudians have done a very valuable service in pointing out the nervous disorders produced in later life by wrong handling of young children in sex matters. Educational reform in this respect is most needed, especially in very early childhood. The difficulty is

greatly increased by the practice, in modern bourgeois society, of leaving children, during their first years, largely in the hands of *Ayaks*, totally uneducated women, who cannot be expected to know, still less to believe, what has been said by scientists in highly technical language necessary to escape

Self-control versus
Birth Control.

prosecution for obscenity. This is the ultimate reason why the Family as a social institution must be defended against the powerful attacks of Plato and the Marxians. The care and health of the child is of fundamental importance to society. The mystic argument of Gandhiji, viz., the spiritual union of two souls in order to create a new soul, loses all its charm, if the new soul brought into being is not properly looked after, and this is impossible under the conditions of modern society, if the sex instincts of the parents themselves are frustrated by limiting intercourse and practising self-control, instead of Birth Control. The Gandhian view must be corrected and supplemented by the psycho-analytic account of the upbringing of children.

We have to close this account of Family and marriage with a few remarks on some essential matters in this connection. Our argument

Upbringing of
Children.

really would serve as the link between this and the succeeding chapter which deals directly and expressly with Education. Till, however, our society has devised a permanent institution like the State Nurseries (*Creche*) of Russia, we cannot safely discard the Family, however much we may be in full accord with the argument of the

Communists. But before we deal with the delicate and complex question of the right upbringing of children, we have to digress a little in order to find out the causes which give rise to active opposition to the Freudian view of sex and sex education.

The active opposition to Freud takes an *emotional* form, when Freud is accused of being "*sex-mad*," of "reducing⁷ everything to sex," or of "Pan-sexualism." This is really due to the fact that there is a heavy social ban on various aspects of sexuality, so much so that the very word "*immoral*" is commonly used as an equivalent for "*sexual*." The part of Freud's conclusions that has proved the most unacceptable relates to the *sexuality of childhood*. The popular view is that the sexual instinct *first* manifests itself during adolescence, and that any signs of it during childhood are to be regarded as a *diseased precocity*. Freud maintains, on the contrary, that children conceal the sexual nature of their interests *from themselves*, and still more from adults, which the latter reciprocate, by ignoring them, or else, by punishing them as being simply "naughty." Only a general conspiracy of silence and blindness could manage to overlook facts that are patent for everyone to see,—such facts as the bodily preoccupations and habits of children, their curiosities, loves, jealousies, and so on.

According to Freud, the sexual instinct is active from the first day of life to the last, but it manifests itself in a greater variety of ways, the nature of which is often unrecognized, than is generally

The "Pan-sexualism" of Freud.

supposed. It is a complicated instinct, and is made up of various components that have to fuse into an entity, and often fail in doing so. It has to undergo a rather elaborate course of development during which various difficulties may arise, errors in development, *arrest at certain stages*, and so on. This development has to be passed through *twice over*, first in early childhood, *below the age of five*, and next in the *years following puberty*. In the interval, the so-called "latency period," there is no progress in this development. Leading medical psychologists now generally agree with Freud in this matter, viz., *that the sex urge has its roots in the period of early childhood*. The myth of the 'innocent child' has been exploded. Norman Haire, the famous British sexologist, writes: "If we assume that children are 'pure angels,' i.e., sexless beings, the sexual instinct must apparently descend on them like a bolt from the blue, when they feel the first stirrings of it. Such a hypothesis, however, is contrary to all experience and conflicts with all the psychological laws which govern the development of man," "The sexual instinct is clearly *innate*, although it manifests itself during childhood in a form different from that which it assumes in adults". . . . "All experts today agree that the sexual instinct is in evidence *even in sucklings*" Science has given the word 'sexual' a much wider connotation. It means, in the case of children, *a tendency to seek pleasurable sensations, which, as they develop, clearly assume a sexual character.*"

The first stage is termed the *Oral stage*, the

activity consisting of the various forms of sucking and swallowing; it can be sub-
 Oral stage.

divided into two phases, sucking and biting respectively. To begin with, the *nutritive and oral-erotic* impulses are indistinguishable from each other, but it soon becomes evident that sucking has acquired some significance of its own, quite independent of hunger; every nurse knows how a child's restlessness can be stilled by giving it a "comforter;" and this need has nothing to do with any desire for food. Later on, the child replaces the nipple and the comforter by its thumb, often continued into nail-biting and allied habits like *holding the pencil* in the mouth, or *adult smoking*. This is the *auto-erotic stage of the libido*: there is no *object-love*: the child seeks for a gratification in its own body, but there is *hardly any sense of "I."* In

the second stage, called the *Narcissistic stage*, the *ego* has developed

and is taken as the object of the instinct; we might say that the child loves itself, a capacity it never entirely gives up. *The third stage is the "critical" one.* Here the child seeks in the outer world for *objects not only of its affection*, but also of its *conscious and unconscious sexual phantasies*, and these relate to the *members of its own family*, brothers and sisters or playmates, and then to the *parents*. Difficulties arise in the latter

relation, which constitutes the *Oedipus complex*, famous *Oedipus complex*, where there

is a sexual attitude on the part of the *child towards the parent of the opposite sex*, together with *rivalry towards the one of its own*. This complex Freud regards

as the central one in the whole unconscious ; on the way in which the child deals with it depends, more than on anything else, its future character and temperament, as well as any neurosis it may at any time develop. This "infantile sexuality" was the most novel and important of Freud's contributions to psychology, as it is this knowledge that furnishes the key to the understanding of adult problems. Every adult problem in the realm of sexuality, friction and difficulties in marriage, social problems like prostitution, birth-control and various abnormal practices and attitudes, all are capable of explanation in the light of the scientific theory concerning the early stages in the development of this complicated instinct.

In the words of a sociological and anthropological psycho-analyst, the *passions, stresses and conflicts of the child* in relation to its *father, mother, brother and sister*, result in the formation of certain permanent mental attitudes or sentiments towards them, sentiments which partly living in *memory, partly embedded in the unconscious*, influence the later life of the individual in his relation to society.⁴⁰

Why a society possesses one family system instead of another is ordinarily not directly explicable, but presumably the reason lies in conditions of its culture, environment or history. For example, monogamous marriage is adapted to a numerical equality of sexes ; but a long-continued distorted sex-ratio, caused perhaps by excessive male mortality in warfare, or by female infanticide, may lead to polygamous union the families have developed

40. Sex and Repression in Savage Society, Malinowsky, p. 2.

in response to basic human and social needs and change their form when these needs are altered by changing circumstances.⁴¹

We can now return from our digression to the question of *Upbringing of children*, which has been emphasized by the psycho-analytical conclusion that *all character is permanently formed for good or ill by the age of five*, during which period the child has to go hurriedly through a complicated emotional development which it has taken mankind fifty thousand years to achieve,—the civilizing of his primary instincts. Reflection on this outstanding point must increase our *tolerance* for childish difficulties and misdemeanours, and our *patience* in dealing with them.

Sex education of Children. Love is as necessary for a child's mental development as food is for

its bodily development, and yet it has to be gradually weaned from certain manifestations of the love-instinct. Next only to love and patience, one would put *honesty*, in the order of importance, in child upbringing. When we *pose as model of perfection to our children at the cost of truth, when we mislead them by giving false information on their real curiosities about sex and other matters, we are showing our own lack of emotional maturity and adjustment.*" Silence in matters concerning sex has had the most far-reaching consequences in the education of children; in orthodox 'cultured' homes, silence and repression are aided by perjury and deceit. Instead of satisfying the child's natural curiosity about the physical differences between men and

41. *The American Family in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 4-5.

women, or answering a simple question, ' Where did I come from ? ' in a natural manner, the parents suppress his natural desire to know the truth and force him to take recourse to maid-servants and obtain stealthily wrong information from ignorant or semi-educated persons. He begins to lose confidence in the parents' honesty and sincerity and to consider ' sex ' as a tabooed subject.⁴²

42. Bertrand Russell : On Education.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

“ Into the complicated societies of mankind, ” says Henry A. Mess, “ there are continually being born new individuals who have almost everything to learn ; almost everything, because specific instincts play a comparatively small part in human life and social heritage plays a very great part. The new individuals have to receive the social heritage of their society, or at least a part of it ; and in doing so, *their own lives should be enriched* and also they should be adapted to life in that society. This acquisition of the social heritage by the new individual is *education* in the widest sense of that term.”⁴³ Thus Education includes a good deal of absorption of knowledge and of attitudes from the life around him, a process which is facilitated by man’s innate powers of memorizing and of generalizing, powers which do not appear all at once at birth, but which slowly develop through childhood and during adolescence. Such capacities may be very much strengthened by suitable and proper guidance and training. But such absorption, assimilation (or unconscious “ *Imitation* ” of Plato) from the surroundings, is only a small fraction of education. The older persons in each generation do their best to facilitate the process by a good deal of

What is Education ?

43. Social Structure.

teaching, much of which is informal and casual. But there is also formal education, which in modern societies is usually given by a specialized class of men and women, teachers by profession. In the narrower sense, formal education is the deliberate and planned direction of influences on the young, and the deliberate transmission to them of part of the social heritage of their society."

What then is specifically transmitted? Education, both formal and informal, is, in the first place, concerned with the acquisition of techniques. Some simple lessons in adaptation to environment must be learnt by every member of a society; it is, for instance, essential that every person growing up in Europe should learn to avoid traffic dangers, whilst in India the child should learn early to avoid over-exposure to sunlight and heat in June. There will be, in most societies, techniques which, though they may not be vitally necessary, are highly desirable, and are taught to all; thus, everyone in modern civilization and society is now taught to read and write. Also, there is *elaborate specialization of functions in all societies*: many techniques are learnt by some only, and it may be by very few.

Secondly, there is the teaching and learning of what Mess calls "the vehicles of knowledge, languages and terminologies." The choice of language or languages, in which instruction shall be given, is a matter of great importance, both because it determines the range of information, to which there is access, and also because, strong sentiments

attach to words and to combinations of words. Familiarity with a particular literature is an important element in the sentiment of nationality. *Education is, therefore, a powerful instrument in the creation and maintenance of national feeling.* It was an important part of the technique of an imperialist nation to enslave the *dependencies* by imparting to them education through the medium of the foreign language. This technique was first

The vehicles of knowledge developed by the Romans ; its most scientific and systematic application could be seen in India. The Wardha Scheme of National Education, sponsored by Gandhiji, tackled the problem of National revival through mass education, by substituting the mother tongue for English as the medium of instruction at all stages of teaching, Primary, Secondary and University.

In the next place, the developing members of a society acquire the ideas, the sentiments, the attitudes and ways of behaviour, which are current in that society. To a large extent, this is the result of informal education, but in most societies resort is had to formal education also. Thus there usually is dogmatic teaching about religion and morality,

Social structure and function and this may be given by the parents, priests or teachers. Some account is also given of the structure

and the functioning of the society. Even in a primitive, pre-literate society, we find, for instance, as Dr. Meek tells us, "that among the Ibo the children are taught by their parents to be punctilious in the

correct use of the terms applied to family relationships, family being a wider and more complicated group than that which goes by the name among us.”⁴⁴ Much use is made of *ritual* in all primitive societies to impress ideas and attitudes current in such societies.

In literate societies, where formal education is more developed, ritual still plays some part ; the scholars may participate in national or local celebrations, the national anthem will be sung, the mayor of the town may visit in pomp and grandeur. But the part played by *ritual* is smaller than it is in primitive societies, and more reliance is placed upon books and the verbal lesson. Some knowledge of the structure of society is given, though to a large extent in an indirect form, through History, Geography and Literature, and in the case of senior children through Economics and Civics. But it is practically certain that in almost all the modern countries of the complicated Western civilization, the majority of citizens acquire a very vague idea of the social structure : sometimes there is a deliberate attempt on the part of society to confuse the large majority of its citizens, the masses, **Primitive and Modern societies** to-mislead them for purposes of exploitation rather than to enlighten them by giving the knowledge of essentials. The Marxian attack on Bourgeois education is, to a very large extent, justified. In any case, it is pretty clear that in this respect, the citizen of a modern State is less adequately educated than are many illiterate and primitive peoples. It is noteworthy that the

44, Meek : Primitive Society

Basic Scheme of Education directed its attention to this important aspect of teaching, by including an elementary knowledge of *National History* and *Civics* in the Curriculum of the Primary Basic Course. In Soviet Russia, however, we find a notable exception to the rule. Education, in that country today, expressly tries to make conscious to the mind of the peasant and the worker, the important role he plays, and has increasingly got to play, in the *Society of the Future*. That was, perhaps, the secret of Russia's mighty stand against Hitler's terrific onslaught in the Ukraine during the World War of 1939-1945. Still we may prophecize that the regimentation in the Soviet Republics is a passing and temporary phase. At any rate, in all Fascist and collective types of Governments, there is a dangerous tendency of suppressing individual freedom and initiative in the child, the teacher and the School administration. This is one of the tyrannies, against which we have to keep ourselves alert.

Education can also facilitate the transmission to members of the new generation, of ideas, sentiments, attitudes, and habits. Much of it is done informally, at home, or in the small neighbourhood group; a lot of it is the informal and casual accompaniment of formal education; but a major portion of it is the direct subject of formal education. In these various ways, differently proportioned in different societies and in different spheres, the new generation is assimilated to its predecessors in such matters as religion, patriotism, social gradation, sex behaviour,

and in countless other matters, great and small.

So far we have considered education as an instrument of social control, a process of shaping members of the new generation to

Education and the Individual.

the requirements of society. But

we can also consider education

from the standpoint of the welfare of the individual scholar. "Each child has unique potentialities, each has his own desires and his own ambitions, each will have to play an individual role in society. Body and mind can be brought to high efficiency, personality can be enriched, facilities can be afforded for self-expression, he or she can be equipped to face the inevitable competition of life. In an individualistic and highly competitive society, education will often be regarded by teachers, and still more by parents, as preparation for a career, and scholars will naturally adopt the same view."⁴⁵

The unique Individual

Thus, teachers, parents and the child himself, will co-operate to see that the maximum of efficiency be imparted to each child, the personality of each be fully enriched.

But are not these two aims of education mutually exclusive or necessarily opposed to each other? If

Education and Society.

personality is enriched and the innate spontaneity of each child properly encouraged and fully

developed, how is he going to adapt himself to the needs and demands of a more or less rigid social structure? These are difficult and fundamental

45. Mess: Social Structure

questions, and in order to answer them successfully, we shall have to deviate a little from our straight path. We have to show how the educational problem of today has arisen, and what the verdict of History is. We have to go as far back as John Locke, the English philosopher of commonsense and compromise, who put this fundamental question and whose greatest contribution to History of Education lies not in the answer he gave, but in the clarity with which he asked the question.

The system of education outlined by Locke swings between the *two* natural impulses of the teacher, *viz.*, a desire to impart information and a desire to develop and train intellectual initiative. The first is the commoner motive of the two, but the second is of immensely greater value. By tradition an upholder of instruction in the paths of truth, Locke was by nature a devotee of that truth towards which no mind can win unless by its own persistent efforts. “Certain confusions follow ; Locke, the instructor, is not wholly consistent with Locke, the seeker, and the inconsistencies are sufficiently obvious ; but in spite of these, a resultant compromise remains, admirable in many ways, and typical of much that is best at least among English educational ideals.”

It is unfortunate that Locke's notion of the child as a “*tabula rasa*,” written upon by experience only, as an empty sheet of paper, misled him fundamentally. The garden of the child's mind was wrongly regarded by him as *virgin soil*, to be sown by the teacher in accordance with a formal pattern. But

he was well aware that truth can germinate anew in the "*originative* and not in the passively recipient mind." His "*formalism*" is pleasingly contradicted at every turn by his reliance upon "the desire of the young to create their own understanding." The contradiction in Locke's mind between *education* and *instruction* is really due to the isolation of two extremes; extremes that centre in the *individual* and the *social* conceptions of life. Individual freedom and natural activity must be developed in the child: but it is equally necessary to teach him the accumulated, traditional wisdom, *the realized truth, of the past ages.*

The contribution of the individual to the society is no less important than the contribution of society, passed on by the educational system, to the development of the individual. The ideal of individual liberty is "*a diversity-ideal*;" the ideal of a tradition of social control is "*a unity ideal.*" *Education*, in the strict sense of "*drawing out*" that which is in the individual child, is a process that favours individualism. *Instruction* is a process of social guidance, in the sense of "*building into*" the child that which the society sees as truth. To advocate either process in opposition to the other is the extreme of educational folly. Locke's essential wisdom, the wisdom of a great philosopher and seeker after truth, consists in holding fast to "*the two vital aspects of educational verity,*" in spite of his logical hatred of a contradiction. Education, even today, wonders how to combine the two within a unified doctrine. "Locke's

The Individual and
the Society.

system asks a question ; it gives us not a solution but a paradox ; it states the ideal but leaves for later educators, how to realize the ideal."

We have now to see how Rousseau comes into closer touch with this problem, if not exactly with its solution. Rousseau was brought up practically without education, and grew up a critic, but, as one writer brilliantly points out, "a critic without a criterion." "Uncentred, he tended to become self-centred." The outlook which he brought to bear upon education was that of *Society's duty to the Individual*. Free himself in a sense, though tragically unfitted to use freedom, Rousseau saw the world around him in bonds and fetters. Once and for all, he threw aside the notion of a child's nature as "a shell to be moulded, hollowed out and filled ; *natural growth, rightly conditioned, was the only education.*"

It was Rousseau's absolute, uncompromising statement of this crude ideal and its wide acceptance, even in all its crudity, that gave impetus to the *devising of method*. He himself, however, lacked all *methodology*, and that is why many critics have lost their tempers while reading Rousseau. But we must not reject a sound principle on account of its unsound application. It is often maintained that "too much liberty is bad for a child, or for any one." But there is no such thing as too much liberty. There is the practical question, "What do you want your liberty for?" This is where further ideals are required. It is these further ideals which "*education for liberty.*" has to teach. "These ideals

Rousseau's contribution to the problem

Rousseau lacked, and in that blindness, he wrote of liberty, as though it were the only ideal in the world. Ignorant liberty, however, is no liberty at all : education has to perfect it by giving knowledge. Idle liberty, again, is no liberty at all ; education has to turn it into *liberty of action* by training and developing the natural human desire for fruitful activity. *Selfish liberty*, finally, is liberty, shackled by the bonds of self, a contradiction in terms. *True liberty is social*. Rousseau himself knew well enough, in theory, that *true liberty in its essence depends upon the relation between the individual and the society.*"⁴⁶ But he only perceived one way of reform : *Society must give freedom to the Individual*. It is equally true, however, that *individuals must give freedom to society*.

Two factors are essential in the realization of an ideal ; the ideal itself, and *the actualities of the world* in which it has to make good its position. Rousseau stands almost solely for the ideal itself ; we have to turn to the three great successors of Rousseau,—to Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel,—to see the ideal of "*education in freedom*" brought into any relation with actuality. Others had to interpret the ideal which Rousseau saw with such piercing, if partial, vision. The contrast between education, by means of free development, and training, through fear and constraint, is really the contrast between *the individual and the social aspects of life*. In so far as constraint is necessary, it is justifiable, only when it is "*social constraint*." For Rousseau, "the chain work

Education in Freedom

46 Quick : Educational Ideals.

of social solidarity was evil, not made up of living links, but of cold metal forged upon the limbs of the *unconsenting many* by the *powerful few*." Thus law ceased, for him, to be a social expression, and constraint became a function of unsocial tyranny. If so, education, as Rousseau dimly saw, has the principal part to play in clearing the road for social liberty, that true and only liberty in which the individual and the society are at one, and *constraint gives place to consent*. Merely to state such an ideal is to demonstrate its Utopian quality. But there is nothing wrong with an Utopian ideal, if it is a true one; indeed, all great ideals are Utopian. The only error is to leave out any of the slow, necessary steps by which alone they can gradually be approached. The great mistake of Rousseau was that he left out nearly all the steps, and "his plan for a boy's education leaves the reader with the uncomfortable conviction that Emile would in the end have fallen into most of the pitfalls that entrapped his creator."⁴⁷ It was left for Pestalozzi to begin the building of "*a safe causeway from the actual towards the ideal*," and, indeed, to start his building from "the very bedrock of stern actuality."⁴⁸

The disciple of Rousseau transcends the pure *naturalism* of his earlier master, but his method lost nothing of naturalism, while combining with it the teaching of experience and authority. Pestalozzi says, "The good to which you wish to direct (the child) must not depend upon your varying moods and temper; it

47. *Ibid*

48. *Ibid*

must be a good which is *good-in-itself* and in the nature of things, and *which the child can recognize for itself as good.*"⁴⁹ Here we have the true reconciliation between freedom and authority in educational method. "Whatever the child does gladly, whatever brings him credit, whatever helps him to realize his greatest hopes, whatever rouses his powers and enables him to say with truth *I can*, these things he wills."⁵⁰

These principles of Pestalozzi do not call for an easy lip-service, but for an effort of constructive thought from the teacher. They were further worked out by Froebel, Pestalozzi's disciple and his eventual successor as a light in the educational firmament. To the practical genius of this great idealist philosopher, a follower in the footsteps of the great German idealists, Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, the first question for the educator was not "what shall we teach?" but "to search out a rule in accordance with which teachers teach less and learners learn more." Teaching would then be different from preaching, a little akin to "Socratic the midwife of the soul."⁵¹ Comenius had long ago based his educational system upon the dictum, "Children *learn to do by doing.*" Froebel gave fuller content to the motto by changing it to "Children *grow by doing.*" Activity is the only educative process, and all teaching must be judged by the extent to which it induces *vital activity* on the part of the child. Froebel's further criterion was the tendency of the child's activity. The child must not become too self-

49. Pestalozzi: How Gertrude teaches her child.

50. Ibid

51. Plato: Theatetus

centred, too much engrossed in the vortex of his own thoughts and feelings. *His activity must be made social.* "The Kindergarten" said

Froebel's Kinder-
garten

Froebel, "is the free Republic of Childhood." The social element implies *social control*, and children must be accustomed from the very beginning to *law and order, and therein find the means of freedom*. The teacher must be felt as the *interpreter*, not the arbitrary inventor, of the *social law that reigns in the small community*. "Between the educator and pupil, between request and obedience, there should rule invisibly a third something, to which educator and pupil are equally subject."⁵² The child is a member of a fellowship, and the teacher a mouthpiece of the laws of fellowship. We must appeal to the innate "community sense" of the child, to his innate reason and sociability, his natural instinct of helpfulness. The call of social duty can be translated into a call "to come and help,"—a call that draws the child out of self-pre-occupation into a clear recognition that others have need of him. This pre-supposes a school, in which the activities of the children have been made *genuinely social*, as they are made by Froebel's system.

It is not a soft and easy path that Froebel opens up, as is sometimes supposed. It is a way that demands steady thought and courageous self-discipline from the teacher and pupil alike. It is not a nursery game, preliminary to serious education; it is education as serious and as real as any that has been conceived, and far more serious and real than

52. Froebel : The Kindergarten

any that is practised. The way of Froebel is the way of tact, love, kindness and sympathy : to be fully effective it demands a certain intuitive meeting of minds, between teachers and pupils : it makes *mutual understanding* prior to rule. But there is another path by which the common teacher can attain to Froebel's principles, viz., that which makes *rule* prior to understanding and sympathy. This was the contribution of Herbart, who is acclaimed as the father of Modern Pedagogy. The aspect of

Herbart's
gogy.

Peda-

education that represents exact and logical method was left somewhat undefined by Froebel. Herbart's

systematic scheme completes the work which remained to be done. One aspect of education, as we have seen already, consists in the handing down of a progressively self-enriching tradition from the teacher to the taught. Knowledge is a thing which has to be preserved and handed down through the educational system. Our living traditions have to be realised by the teacher and presented to the child. It is essential that children should develop a *social sense* of their own in schools of the Froebel-type, but this is not enough : they have also to realise the best social traditions of their age and of the ages before. These have to be presented to them as interpreted by the teacher in an interesting and attractive form. The student of Froebel learns how to prepare the recipient mind ; that of Herbart learns how to prepare the interpretation, which the teacher has to give to the child. To Herbart, *instruction* is almost everything in the educative process.

Knowledge creates and evolves mind. Knowledge is power, said Bacon; Knowledge is more than power, it is *mind* in the strict Herbartian sense. Froebel, on the contrary, regarded the generation of authority in the child-life as a something evolved from his sacred self within. There is no mistaking *the ethical end* in Froebel. Freed from their mysticism and obscurity, Froebel's literary contributions have become an educational force of unquestionable value in modern education. In Herbart, we come to the same results by a different route. Though he had no conception of education apart from instruction, sequence and *method*, order, and suitability of material in his schemes of presentation, his doctrine of "cultured epochs" reveals the same central principles as are contained in the "gifts" of Froebel. That Psychology and Pedagogy must not be separated in the future, was the net result of the teaching of both masters. "That Froebel maintained, to the end of his life, that the "soul-germ" is evolved *from within*, and that Herbart declared with equal emphasis his belief that mind-growth was the result of operations *from without*, is after all not material to the main issue. We should rather say that the two in a way supplement each other."⁵³

Viewed in the light of modern educational theory and practice, we are thus driven to the conclusion that we cannot accept either Froebel or Herbart wholly and solely. The present-day problem, as pointed out by an eminent educational philosopher "is to get rid of the prejudicial notion

53. Chalke : Synthesis of Froebel and Herbart.

that there is some gap in *kind* (as distinct from *degree*) between the child's experience and the various forms of subject-matter that make up the course of study."⁵⁴ "The highest and noblest educational work will be accomplished, if we adopt what is best in

Synthesis of Froebel
and Herbart.

both, Froebel and Herbart, accepting their united objective as the true educational goal, and adopting a happy combination of their methods."⁵⁵

We can now return to our central problem, having equipped ourselves with all the best that these great educators of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries taught. Our digression into the History of Modern Education has at least made one point clear, viz., that the social and the individualist aims of education are not essentially opposed to each other. The sociological and the psychological approaches are complementary to each other: even if they are antithetical to some extent, extremes

Two aims of edu-
cation

meet in a proper and judicious synthesis. Personality must be enriched and efficiency of the individual enhanced by *adjustment* to the society in which the individual has to live and carry on his work: and society is the better for having members who are sharply individualized. It is in this sense that Sir T. Percy Nunn acclaims boldly that "the autonomous development of the Individual is the central aim of education," and insists that "the education that aims at fostering individuality is the

54. Dewey Democracy and Education

55. Chaiké Synthesis of Froebel and Herbart

only education according to nature."⁵⁶ Nunn, however, does not repeat the pitfalls of Hobbes and Rousseau. When he reasserts the importance of the individual as the basis of a stable educational policy, he does not deny or minimize the responsibility of a man to his fellows, for the most original personality is unintelligible *apart from the social medium* in which it grows. "The individual life can develop only in terms of its own nature, and that is social as truly as it is self-regarding." Yet he reaffirms *the infinite value of the individual person*, reasserts his ultimate responsibility for his own destiny. The studies and discipline of a school will necessarily represent the cultural and moral traditions of a given society, but they should yet leave abundant room for the free development of individuality. "It takes all sorts to make a world, and the world becomes richer, the better each becomes after his own kind." "There is no limit to the number of *life-patterns* into which good or blameless actions may be woven."⁵⁷ Thus the prudent teacher should not multiply his prohibitions beyond bare necessity. "Social obligations can be discharged in an infinite number of ways, and none can foresee or set bounds to what the human spirit may do in this as in other fields of its activity."⁵⁸ A daring and powerful personality may raise *the whole moral quality of the social structure* by asserting its individuality that may at first seem hostile to its very existence, e.g., Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Ellis, Gandhi.

⁵⁶ T. P. Nunn: Education, Data and First Principles

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

The claim raised on behalf of the child raises another question, viz, that of the extent to which education might proceed by "*indoctrination*." By "*indoctrination*" is meant that ideas are conveyed to the child in such a form and in such an emotional setting that they will remain highly resistant to any later impacts which might change them. At the other extreme to indoctrination is the induction in a scholar of a critical attitude, so that he will seek for himself, and not necessarily take on trust, both information and ideas. Inevitably all education must contain some indoctrination, but the line of division is according to whether the teachers do or do not aim at the ultimate emergence of a critical mind. Societies differ widely in respect of the education which is given to them, in aims, in methods, in control, and finally in respect to the conditions of access. The amount and quality of education which a child will receive may be determined on the basis of its abilities, on the basis of the wealth and social status of its parents and perhaps according to the political and religious views of its parents. In England, all children receive some education: in India, the majority receive practically no education. In England, exceptional ability may secure a long and good education for the child even of poor parents; he may even proceed to Oxford or Cambridge at the State expense, or with the help of organized private charities. In India, facilities for such help, either from public or private funds, are very limited. In England, there is no discrimination on political grounds, but in some countries of Europe,

only those are admitted to study at the Universities who hold views acceptable to the Government.

This raises the fundamental question: who should control the machinery of education? In view of the importance of the educational process within society, it is not surprising that there has been much competition for its control. The chief claimants have been the Family, the Church, and the State. In modern times the tension has been particularly acute between Churches and States. Where there is more than one religion within a single State, the position is still more difficult. Again, there may be groups with conflicting political ideals, or with conflicting cultures, within a single State. In all such cases, the control of education is a matter about which the groups, religious, political or cultural, cannot be indifferent. Many forms of compromise, as well as extreme points of view, are to be found in England, America and the countries of Europe. In India, the situation is highly confused and complicated on account of the conflicting trends of our culture, as well as our political history. The patterns set in the past by the Hindu and the Muslim Universities at Banaras and Aligarh respectively, for instance, were different from each other, and they were both different from the one set by our own University of Allahabad. This was a chaotic state of affairs, highly deplorable. Our education is, however, now in the process of being unified under one cultural pattern, since the attainment of Independence in 1947.

It is, however, universally admitted that those

who control, and those who practise education, have tremendous power in their hands to mould a new generation. But it is equally important to recognize that there are limits set to what they can accomplish. There are, first of all, the limitations set by the material. No amount of effort can make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, nor can the most skilful education make a really efficient man out of a dull wit. So diverse are men's gifts, and so powerful is the urge in the youth to experiment, that it is in point of fact difficult for even the most tyrannical Church or the most powerful Totalitarian State to crush out all spontaneity and all diversity. No one has assessed the transforming power of education more highly than Benjamin Kidd who, in a famous passage, wrote : "Give us the Young. Give us the Young, and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation."⁵⁹

But the question remains to be asked, who are the "*we*" to whom the children are to be given? If "*we*" are typical of "crabbed age," youth will be shaped according to the social heritage of the older generation. And if "*we*" are not typical of our generation, it is highly improbable that the young will be handed over to their moulding. Education is on the horns of a vicious dilemma : the only way out of it is to catch the bull by the horns. Let the youthful spirits among the mature minds capture the control of the school machinery, and try to meet "crabbed age and youth" half-way, as it were. It is to such

59 B Kidd : The Science of Power.

daring and powerful individuals like Bertrand Russell, Homer Lane, Grant and Sanderson, that modern experiments in "Auto-education" have been carried out in England in the present century. Attempt has been made to stimulate the growth of personality by the removal of adult authority or by providing interest which shall open the doors of achievement to boys and girls at all stages of their school career. Removal of discipline, coupled with a really infectious spirit of achievement, "automatically brings in its train a reconciliation to self-mastery." In all these ways the problem of the collision between adult authority and the adolescent has been successfully evaded in certain directions by these heroic individuals, working independently on their own initiative, without any organization or help from the State, and sometimes in face of active opposition from the authorities. Thus we find that though the child cannot urge the claim to a voice in the direction and control of education, this claim has received serious attention on his behalf in educational circles in our own time. Such experiments have given rise to a number of modifications in educational method. The fact that Froebel in Germany, and more recently Mm. Montessori in Italy, were compelled to stop their educational activity in their own countries, is a great blot on the political machinery of modern States. The democratic process had hardly yet worked out its thesis, when the anti-thesis of reaction set in. Recent experiments in Russia are not yet clear on this point. Whatever the opportunities for freedom

in various States may be, teachers would in any case find themselves restrained by authority, should they attempt to impose ideals far removed from those prevalent in the society of which they are part. It is still true, however, that a small number of men with clear views and strong convictions, who have gained control of even a small part of the organization of education, can impress those views rapidly and effectively upon a large part of the younger generation. In this sense at least Kidd's dictum is, to a large extent, justified.

We cannot close this chapter without giving a very brief account of the Indian conception of education and society. Ancient

Education in Ancient India. Indian Education is ultimately the outcome of the Indian theory of knowledge and a part of the corresponding scheme of life and values, thus giving a particular angle of vision, a sense of perspective and proportion in which the material and the moral, the physical and spiritual, the perishable and permanent interests and values of life are clearly defined and strictly differentiated. The aim of Education is *Chittavrittinirodha*, the inhibition of those activities of the mind by which it gets connected with the world of matter or objects. The individual's supreme duty is to achieve his expansion into the Absolute, his self-fulfilment, for he is potentially Divine. Education must aid in this self-fulfilment, and not in the acquisition of mere objective knowledge. It is more concerned with the *subject* than the *object*, more with the inner than the outer world. The

right way is directly to seek the source of all life and knowledge, and not to acquire knowledge piecemeal by the study of objects. The pursuit of objective knowledge is thus not the chief concern of Education. When the mind is withdrawn from the world of matter, and does not indulge in individuation, Omniscience, the knowledge of the whole, dawns on it. Individuation shuts out Omniscience : it limits vision, knowledge : it is bondage. Perception of Life in the perspective of the whole is Mukti, Emancipation. The individual must achieve his emancipation, his escape from bondage, *Samsara*, the ills which flesh is heir to, from disease, decline, death, desire and its satisfaction, recurring in a vicious circle of birth and death, to use the words of the Buddha.

Thus the main business of Education is to educate the mind itself as the creative principle in man, the creative principle of his culture and civilization. *It seeks to train the Mind* as the medium and instrument of knowledge, transform the entire psychic organism, overhaul the mental apparatus itself, rather than to *fill the mind with a store of learned lumber, objective knowledge*. It addresses itself more to the *principle of knowing*, the roots from which knowledge springs and grows, than to the objective content of knowledge. The chase counts more than the game. The method of Education is thus the method of *Yoga*, the Science of sciences and the Art of arts in the Hindu system, the Science and Art of the reconstruction of the Self by discipline and

meditation. The underlying principle is that the Mind, seeking external knowledge, is contaminated by the contact of Matter. This contamination is later communicated to the Soui, Self or *Purusha*, who thus enters into bondage. Education is a process of control of Mind, to drive it down to its deepest layers, so that it may no longer be ruffled by the ripples of the surface, the infinite distractions of the material world by which the Mind wears itself out in fatigue. When the Mind thus falls back upon "its innate strength and resources, and does not lose itself in the pursuit of the knowledge of individual objects, there dawns and bursts forth on the Mind the totality of knowledge, Omniscience."⁶⁰

We thus see that Ancient Indian education tried to imbue its pupils with the tenets of their religion,

Educational Practice
in Ancient India

to preserve the social gradations of the caste system, and to keep all

within the sphere of their occupation. The three upper castes were supposed to gain a knowledge of the sacred works, the four *Vedas* or books of "knowledge," the six *angas* on philosophical and scientific subjects, and the *Code of Manu*, which is a collection of traditional customs : but really the *Brahmans* alone were allowed to take full advantage of this opportunity. The *Kshattriyas*, the warriors, were expected to pay more attention to martial exercises, and the *Vaishyas*, the industrial caste, to acquire, through apprenticeship, the arts necessary for its hereditary occupations. Sudras, Pariahs, and

women were generally allowed no intellectual or vocational education. Except the Sudras, all the castes obtained elementary education from a study of the laws, traditions and customs. The king, it is important to note, was generally a Kshatriya, who respected the Guru, the Brahman spiritual teacher, as the intellectual leader of the State. Thus, *money* and *power* were divorced from each other, and knowledge or learning held sway over both. The inherent merit of the Caste system was its flexibility : there are cases when by scholarship and religious exercise a Kshatriya by birth could attain the status of a Brahman. In any case the warrior-king was guided in all national affairs by the Philosopher-Guide and Raj-Guru, (the Teacher-cum-Priest of the State). In many respects, this was a better system than the "Philosopher-King" of Plato's Utopia. Again, the Raj-Kumar or the crown prince had to sit at the feet of the Guru or the teacher for several years in his forest hermitage for his education along with the sons of commoners. Thus a democratic touch was given to the future king by his early association and companionship with ordinary citizens. This sometimes led to life-long friendships, which in turn produced in the mind of some Hindu Rajas a real concern for the well-being of the State. This is why the traditional "*Ram-Rajya*," the government of *Ram Chandra*, the hero of the great Epic, *Ramayana*, has such a hold over the imagination of the Hindu masses to-day. There were no Etons or Harrows, Oxford or Cambridge, in Ancient India, reserved for Princes and

sons of Lords. All alike studied in the Forest Universities, like Nalanda or Taxila, or even in the ancient Bharadwaj Ashram, situated only a few yards from our own modern University of Allahabad. Again, education was many-sided and complete; manual training and skills like archery and domestic labour were taught to the princes, as they had to hew wood and draw water for the Guru, along with sons of poorer parents. It is true that Religion and Metaphysics, Law and Medicine, Logic and Ethics were emphasized; but the Ashram life of the Brahmachari, the self-controlled student, contained much of emotional and volitional training. Physical culture and control of breath were practised. Indeed, "Yoga" or union with the Infinite was declared impossible of attainment, unless the body was first purified and strengthened by means of simple and wholesome and regulated diet and austere *Asanas*, physical exercises, which a modern athlete or physical culturist might well keep as his model. Finally, though women, on the whole, were reserved for the home crafts, their moral, aesthetic and religious training was specially attended to. As Nicol Macnicol says, "No one who knows anything of India to-day can doubt that in all periods of her history, whatever may have been the social laws and conventions, the influence of women was powerful and profound."⁶¹ Gargi and Maitreyi, among the practical mystics, Ahilyabai and Pandita Ramabai, among the robust, practical and capable managers of kingdoms or households, Mutta and her pale Buddhist sisters,

61. Nicol Macnicol: Hints on Hindu Culture

among the poets, are models on whom a modern University girl might well mould herself. These "God-intoxicated" women could not have been the products of any social tyranny. And the tradition is unbroken in history through more recent names like *Mukta Bai*, a Marathi Brahman poet, sister of the great *Jnaneshwar*, *Jana Bai*, a Gujrati servant woman in the household of Namdev, the tailor poet, *Mira Bai*, of immortal fame, *Rupamati*, the Hindu wife of Baj Bahadur, the last Mohammedan ruler of Malwa, *Lal Ded*, the Kashmiri poetess, *Nur Jehan*, the charming Empress. *Zeb-unnissa Begum*, and, in recent times, *Toru Dutt*. From the days of *Sita* to the modern days there have never been lacking in India women of true and loyal and passionate hearts, who could both *live* poetry and philosophy and also *create* them. This long list of illustrious names is sufficient to show that the education of women was not only not neglected in Ancient Hindu Society, but real and lasting contribution to Indian culture was made by women in all periods of Indian History, throughout the Muslim and the British periods, right up to the present day.

A modern reorientation of Hindu ideals is to be found in the work of our own Poet-Philosopher, Tagore, who is afraid of the spirit of Western materialism which is gradually impoverishing Indian life and spirit. The modern educated Indians are poor imitations of their Western contemporaries. They are not persons but shadows. There is neither art in their life nor music in their soul. According to

Tagore's Educational Ideals.

Tagore, the ideals of Indian education must be changed. True education must spring from the deeper side of man's nature. The educated Indian is cut off from his past, from the immemorial traditions and affections which bind him to his country. The education which he receives is not that of *the whole man*. The modern school is a factory, "especially designed for grinding out uniform results"⁶² Absolutely no account is taken of *individual variations*. The same method is applied to the mental needs of an infinite variety of minds. There is no freedom for the expansion of soul or the progress of liberal thought. The religious and the artistic, the moral and the spiritual sides, are drowned in the study of scientific formulae and social laws. "The mechanization of mind and the sterilization of the intellectual seed-plot are the results of the tyranny of the educational policy." The Indian youth has no enthusiasm for knowledge, or respect for culture, or any motive for independent thought. The scheme of examinations vulgarizes his mind. He does not care to know what is true, but what will fetch him marks. Not knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but knowledge for the sake of success at the examinations is the governing principle of his whole study. The result is that Indian children are forgetting their past, and they are unable to *understand their own nature*. They "stand as barriers choking the steam that flows from the mountain peak of their ancient history."⁶³ The ideals which India

62. R. Tagore : Educational Essays (*Shiksha*).

63. Ibid.

possessed in the past should come back in essentials, though they need not be reproduced in their entirety. Education should make for the culture of the soul, and not merely for the feeding of intellect or the cramming of memory. "The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence."⁶⁴ Tagore trusts to the instinct of the pupil and the atmosphere of the *Ashrama* for the kindling of the spiritual aspiration and the development of the spiritual life. In ancient India the ideal of

Education was to instil the vision
of the Eternal, so that the soul
might reach its fulness and freedom.

Spirit of Shanti-
niketan

In his school at Bolpur, (*Shantiniketan*) Tagore combines modern methods of "Auto-education" with the ancient Indian ideal of soul-culture. "To him the ideal school must be an *Ashrama* where men have gathered together for the highest end of life, in the peace of nature; where life is not merely meditative, but fully awake in its activities; where boy's minds are not perpetually drilled into believing that the ideal of the *self-idolatry of the nation* is the truest ideal for them to accept; where they are bidden to realize man's world as God's kingdom to whose citizenship they have to aspire; where the sunrise and sunset and the silent glory of the stars are not daily ignored; where nature's festivities of flowers and fruit have their joyous recognition from man; and where the young and the old, the teacher and the student, sit at the same table to partake of

64. Ibid.

their daily food and the food of their eternal life.”⁶⁵

Again, “one thing is truly needed to be Teacher of children, it is to be like children ; to forget that you are wise or have come to the end of knowledge. In order to be truly the guide of children, you must

never be conscious of age, or of
 The Eternal Child superiority, or anything of that
 kind. You must be their elder brother, ready to
 travel with them in the same path of higher wisdom
 and aspiration. This is the only advice I can offer
 to you on this occasion, to cultivate the spirit of the
eternal child, if you must take up the task of training
 the children of Man.”⁶⁶

From the above quotation, we can get some idea of the educational theory and practice of *Vishwa Bharati*, the immortal legacy of the great Poet-Philosopher of India. It easily falls into line with the individualist trend of educational theory in the West today, without losing sight of the simple and spiritual message of the East. Another recent educational experiment in India in recent times is that of Swami Shraddhanand, who emphasized contact with nature, plain living and high thinking, and Brahmacharya, for the student in conformity with ancient Hindu educational ideals.

The idea, then, that the main function of the school is to *socialize* its pupils, in no wise *contradicts* the view that its true aim is to
 Concluding re-
 marks cultivate *individuality*. “The merit
 of originality is not novelty but

65. Ibid.

66 Ibid,

sincerity."⁶⁷ But sincerity is an achievement possible only to those who are "*free to follow the larger movements of their own nature*; to take from others, not what it imposed upon them, but what they need to make their own."⁶⁸ Hence, while the school must never fail to form its pupils in the tradition of *brotherly kindness and social service*, it must recognize that *the true training for service* is one that favours individual growth, and that the highest form of society would be one in which every person would be free to draw from the common medium what his nature needs, and to enrich the common medium with what is most characteristic of himself. Thus, "the proper aim of education is *positive, to encourage free activity, not negative, to confine or to repress it.*"⁶⁹ Here Nunn comes very near to the Idealistic reconciliation, attempted by a present-day Italian educationist, Gentili; according to whom, "A school without freedom is a lifeless institution."⁷⁰ The human spirit is essentially *active and free* in its activity *Freedom, which is the condition of the entire life of the spirit, must be the result of education.* It is through education that man actualizes his spiritual nature, which is truly *social and universal*. Man's individuality is not the particular and exclusive personality of the Pragmatists. It is the *universal* which unites men and does not separate them. "The *liberty* of the pupil can be reconciled with the *authority* of the teacher, only when the *unity of aim*

A Final Synthesis

67. Carlyle : Miscellaneous Essays.

68. T. P. Nunn : Education, its data and first principles.

69. Ibid

70. G. Gentili : The Reform of Education.

of teacher and taught is recognized. The teacher should not suppress the '*personality*' of the pupil, but *expand* it, by helping his impulses and facilitating his *infinite* development."⁷¹ All false opposition between *discipline* and *instruction*, between one type of education and another, for instance, physical and mental, practical and humanistic, vocational and cultural, is the result of unphilosophical thinking and the failure to understand *the precise nature of education*. The old static conception of learning was the correlative of the conception of knowledge as "basically a handing down on authority."⁷² The duty of the pupil was to accept and acquire the knowledge, set out authoritatively in text-books. The sign and test of learning was primarily *the ability to give back* on demand what was found in the book. The curriculum was the orderly arrangement of what was thus to be studied and learnt "The modern conception of study is a series of *activities*, which are responses to a social situation, a situation created by an *assignment*. The subject-matter of learning is identical with all the objects, ideas and principles which enter as resources or obstacles into the continuous intentional pursuit of a course of action."⁷³

Education has a new work and a new aim, the *first*, of clarifying the basic principles of social relationship and of giving information concerning the very complex relations in society, and *second*,

71. R. Rusk. The Philosophical Basis of Education.

72. Ibid.

73. Dewey. Schools of Tomorrow.

of giving a new social motive. The first adds new emphasis to the importance of the *knowledge* side of education, the second, to the *moral* aim. "Education thus becomes the *force modifying social institutions*, by bringing about a better adjustment of individuals to one another ; and the chief demand upon education is the ability to adjust one's self quickly and properly to new and quickly changing social conditions. This is what is meant by good citizenship, and this can, and ought to, be inculcated by good education."⁷⁴

74. Mess : Social Structure.

CHAPTER VII

PROPERTY AND SOCIAL GRADATION

We have seen, from the psychological analysis of society, that the sense of *possession* forms an important element in the emotional under-current of the family as a social institution. The family supplies a powerful incentive to acquisition, accumulation and transmission of property. “A solitary individual, with no one definitely dependent upon him, may lead a vagabond life.....Those who are eager to acquire large possessions are generally actuated more or less explicitly, by the hope of ‘founding the family,’ or at least of giving one a good start.”⁷⁵ If the family thus stimulates the instinct of acquisition, property, in its turn, strengthens the family sentiment and solidarity. Family and property are thus closely connected with each other.

“Property is a matter of right; it is the title to the exclusive possession and use of goods. In its legal aspect, property may be described as a body of rights and duties which determine the relations of men regarding their control over material things.”⁷⁶ In all modern civilized society, this right has been clearly defined and sanctioned by society; it gives a particular person or persons exclusive control over

Family and Property

The Right of Property.

75. Mackenzie : Fundamental Problems of Life.

76. Damle : Civics for Beginners.

certain things. But control over *persons*, which was typical of the institution of slavery, has been abolished : in its place, we have the system of *serfs*, personal attendants, valets and the highly organized system of Labour. In India, the village Zamindar had till recently a great deal of control over the personal services of his tenants, which had a social recognition in the "*Begari*" system. Such institutions have in them the legacy of slavery and serfdom. *The social recognition of the right of control over things*, thus, becomes the *differentia* of Property today. Property is, however, to be carefully distinguished from mere possession. " Possession is nine-tenths of Law."

may be a good proverb, but it has
 Hobhouse on no social recognition. As Hob-
 Property. house observes, " Property may be
 absolute or partial, held by one person or many,
 or by a company, but it must be exclusive as against
 others."⁷⁷ The control of the owner is complete in
 the sense that he may not only use but also *abuse*
 his property so long as it does not cause injury to
 others. One cannot, for instance, set fire to one's
 house in a crowded locality, nor can one use one's
 land in a way which is harmful to public health or
 the health of the neighbours. Full control further
 implies the right to alienate property, such as the
 right to sell, to mortgage, to exchange or to give it
 away. Social sanction is of special importance in
 the right of property. In the absence of such a
 sanction, the competitive and the aggressive instincts
 of man may lead to chaos. If it is industry that

77. Hobhouse . Property, its Duties and Rights.

gives birth to property, it is social and legal sanction that ensures its security and sanctity.

We may roughly classify Property under three heads : common, collective and individual. In ancient times, individual property was allowed only in the most personal things such as clothing, ornaments, weapons, etc.

Evolution of Property

With regard to land, one comes across a variety of customs amongst primitive peoples. Where men live by hunting, land is held in common by a group of close blood-relations, a clan or a tribe. The procuring of food is a co-operative task and the food is shared by the whole group according to custom, the strongest man usually getting the lion's share. The principle of communal proprietorship, meaning common use and common enjoyment, is generally followed. Where men live by agriculture, sometimes the land is held by the community, and sometimes by some group within the community ; a part of the land may also be privately owned and cultivated. In certain communities the land is supposed to belong to the chief or nobility, who gradually appear on the scene. This means that a large majority of the people are reduced to the position of landless labourers called *serfs*. In this way society comes to be divided into classes, viz., the feudal lords or landed aristocracy on the one hand and the property-less *serfs* on the other. Thus private property in land assumes the form of big estates.

In ancient and mediaeval times, the economic organization of society was based upon agriculture

and small handicrafts. The means of production were owned by the individual who used them. But the introduction of large-scale machinery in production made it impossible for individual workers to own the means of production. This gave rise to the capitalist system. Capitalism in the words of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, is "that particular stage in the development of industry and the legal institutions in which the bulk of the workers find themselves divorced from the ownership of the instruments of production in such a way as to pass into the position of wage-earners, whose subsistence, security and personal freedom seem dependent on a relatively small proportion of the nation, namely, those who own, and through their legal ownership control, the organization of the land, the machinery and the labour force of the community, and do so with the object of making for themselves individual and private gains."⁷⁸

The great significance of Capitalism in Social Philosophy today lies in the relationship that obtains between the two sections of society under it, between those who command the means of production and those who are mere wage-earners. The modern trend of thought is in the direction of strict social control being exercised over this relationship. Property, to a very large extent, is a social creation and society cannot allow its accumulation in private hands to an extent, and to be used in a manner,

78. S. & B. Webb · *The Decay of Capitalist Civilizations*,

clearly injurious to social interest.

Thus the right of private property is not absolute, but relative and changing throughout the ages, according to the stages of social development. In the earlier stages, property was valued more for use than for *power*. But today '*property for power*' is valued most. The law of theft is older than the State. The State has not created the institution of property, though it has done much to protect and develop it and also to modify it. The policy of the State in relation to property, in the words of Jenks, should be "to refuse to protect or favour any appropriation without a due return on the part of the appropriator, to restrain abuses of property, to raise the necessary revenue of the State from those best able to contribute to it, and to restrict the duration of proprietary powers within reasonable limits."⁷⁹ Psychologically, private property is based on the acquisitive instinct, which man shares with the lower animals. Ants and squirrels store food to provide for the future. This instinct manifests itself in human beings at an early age. Children are fond of collecting all sorts of things such as pencil-ends, broken bangles, metal pieces, pebbles and broken china pieces, and are most unwilling to part with them, even when to our adult mind these cherished objects appear of no use to them. In adults, this instinct takes the form of accumulating property.

The psychology of property, however, cannot be

Psychological Basis
of Private Property

Acquisitive instinct
in children.

wholly explained by the instinct of *acquisition*. Ownership is a very complex phenomenon. We value things because they directly or indirectly satisfy our wants : we begin to develop some sort of sentimental attachment towards such objects, e.g. old letters from friends or even bills and cash memos of objects purchased in the past and valued. More often than not, our passion for property is the result of such emotional attachment. Property is thus the result of a complicated psychological process.

The emotional element in Property.

"Any fundamental need of human nature may serve as a centre round which the sentiment of ownership may gather." Sometimes the sentiment of property may be fostered by the vegetative and animal aspects of our nature, expressed in nutrition, sex and other matters, and sometimes by the purely rational aspect of our nature, the so-called higher interests in life, such as devotion to knowledge or quest of the beautiful. "All these instincts and interests require the direct or indirect use of certain instrumental things, which in course of time come to be valued for themselves. In this way confusion arises between means and ends ; *the ends are forgotten* and we cling to the means."⁸⁰ The miser who merely hoards his gold is an extreme manifestation of this tendency to confuse ends with means. Undue anxiety for the future is often the cause of excessive accumulation. Many cases of "Anxiety Neurosis" in modern society show this symptom of extreme reluctance

Money and Power.

80. Dumile : Civics for Beginners.

to part with money, which becomes a symbol for Power, Self-expression and Self-display. The man of property feels that he can command the services of persons and control their lives. Thus the instinct of acquisitiveness easily passes into aggression, domination and exploitation.

The institution of private property has become the subject of one of the most bitter controversies of our times. Antagonistic views are held about its origin, nature and function by economists, sociologists, anthropologists, politicians and social reformers. Some maintain that property is 'sacred', others regard it as 'theft'; still others follow a *via media* between these extreme views. We must admit that there is no religious or ethical sanctity about private property,—there is no such thing as an absolute right of private property. But we need not look upon it as theft. We should impartially examine the social sanctions of property in a given social context in a scientific spirit. Its ultimate justification would lie in its power to contribute to general well-being, the social good. The institution of private property has served a useful purpose in so far as it has resulted in increased production and added to man's physical comforts. But it has also produced harmful consequences. Increased production, accompanied by inequitable distribution, has led to gross inequalities between the rich and the poor, and recently to total unemployment of large numbers of otherwise healthy and socially useful persons. Besides, there is in the present capitalist

Property, 'sacred'
or 'theft'?

society a growing tendency to *worship wealth as power*.

Incentive to effort.

It may be thus that individual ownership provides a powerful incentive to industry and thrift, but there are other incentives to effort. Men inspired by a strong sense of social duty and disinterested service are found to put in hard work and to contribute to the total well-being of society in all ages and in all countries even today.

Again, property may be valued for the feeling of security it produces. A man enjoys peace of

Feeling of security.

mind when he knows that he can fall back on his savings in times of illness, unemployment and old age, and that he has made provision for his family.

Without peace of mind and leisure, a man can hardly make any progress in science, philosophy, art and culture. But it has been pointed out that

The "ethical equivalents" of Property.

this peaceful frame of mind can also be secured by a guaranteed wage system, Insurance against accident, illness, unemployment and old age, coupled with the State taking charge of the education of children. All these measures may be regarded as the "ethical equivalents" of private property, and some of these have been, or are now gradually being, adopted in the Soviet Republic.

Private ownership, it may be argued, creates in man a sense of responsibility by giving him a stake in the community. This is really

Sense of responsibility

nothing but the *bourgeois* argument for maintaining the *status quo* and

obstructing the path of social progress of mankind, by allowing existing inequities of society to continue indefinitely. Every man has indeed a right to work and a right to the fruit of his work. He has a right to earn and to save. But this right is never absolute. It is conditioned by the claims of social justice and public welfare. If some men find in property a means of self-realization and a medium of self-expression, this cannot justify its colossal accumulation in the hands of a few individuals. The State is justified in limiting the right of private property, for instance, by imposing death duties and adopting the principle of progressive taxation. It is the duty of the State to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth by laying the weight of heavy taxes upon shoulders that are best fitted to bear it and using the proceeds for the benefit of the poor. Communism, on the other hand, advocates the right of the State to regulate and control the activities of individuals and organizations. The State not only performs the 'police' function but is bound to provide many social services in regard to health, housing, education and recreation, and other amenities of life for all citizens. "From each, according to his ability, to each, according to his need," seems to be the motto of the Communists, who are satisfied with nothing short of the abolition of private property.

According to Marx and Engels, however, "the abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of communism. All property relations in the past have continually been subject to

The Marxian
view.

historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions. The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

“The distinguishing feature of communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the communists may be summed up in the single sentence : Abolition of private property.

“We communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man’s own labour, which property is alleged to be the ground work of all personal freedom, activity, and independence.

“Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property. Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form ? There is no need to abolish that ; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily. Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property ?

“But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer ? Not a bit. It creates capital, i.e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh

exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

“ To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion. Capital is, therefore, not a personal, it is a social power.

“ When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

“ Let us now take wage-labour. The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and production of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the

ruling class requires it.

“In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer. In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

“And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at “.....” You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society. In a word you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.”⁸¹

We do not owe any apology to the reader for

81. Marx and Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*.

citing this long passage from the Communist Manifesto, which was written over a century ago but is now for the first time being widely read and appreciated. The popularity of Marxian views in recent times makes it imperative for us to study the texts of Marx himself. We have allowed Marx and Engels, the joint authors of the Manifesto, to speak for themselves, for they have pleaded their cause with vigour, clarity, and brilliance, combined with bitter sarcasm. The modern Marxians, on the other hand, are comparatively complex and complicated in their version. It must be admitted that, whatever shape and form the Marxian attack on property may assume in the future, today it symbolizes a deep-seated feeling of discontent with our society and civilization, which stands for competition, power and exploitation as against co-operation, love and social service. Under the present system, the rich tend to become more rich, the poor more poor. Inequalities have become intolerable, distribution unjust; the human being has been dethroned and the machine or the impersonal state defied, with the result that, in spite of vast development of scientific technique, we are still as far removed from the ideal of 'universal plenty and peace' as ever. In so far as Marx stands for the poor, the down-trodden, the exploited and the social outcasts today, he may be rightly acclaimed as the prophet of the nineteenth century. His argument cannot, in any case, be lightly dismissed in a few sentences.

Whether by abolishing private bourgeois pro-

perty, the communists will be able to abolish all aggression, ill-will and enmity from society, is a different question altogether. According to some Communists, man is whole-heartedly good and friendly to his neighbour, but the present economic system has corrupted his nature. The possession of private property, no doubt, gives power to the individual and thence the temptation arises to ill-treat his neighbour ; the man who is excluded from the possession of property is obliged to rebel in hostility against the oppressor. If private property were abolished, all valuables held in common, and all allowed to share in the enjoyment of them, all needs and desires would be satisfied, none would have any reason to regard another as an enemy ; all would willingly undertake the work which is necessary. No sane person would have any objection to, and all would have full sympathy with, and good will towards, the endeavours made to fight the *economic inequality* of men and all that it leads to. But human nature is not so simple ; indeed, as we have seen in Chapter II, it is highly complicated. Ambi-valence, rather than Pure Love, is the basis of all human societies. The sociological aspect of the world-picture today must be supplemented with the psychological aspect. As Freud says, " By abolishing private property, one deprives the human love of aggression of one of its instruments, a strong one undoubtedly, but assuredly not the strongest. It in no way alters the individual differences in power and influence which are turned by aggressiveness to

Freud on Communism.

its own use, nor does it change the nature of the instinct in any way. This instinct did not arise as the result of property ; it reigned almost supreme in primitive times when possessions were still extremely scanty; it shows itself already in the nursery when possessions have hardly grown out of their original *anal* shape ; it is at the bottom of all the relations of affection and love between human beings—possibly with the single exception of that of a mother to her male child. Suppose that personal rights to material goods are done away with, there still remain prerogatives in sexual relationships, which must arouse the strongest rancour and most violent enmity among men and women who are otherwise equal.”⁸²

This balanced criticism of the Marxian attack on property, coming as it does, from one who himself had experienced the misery of poverty in his youth and had endured the indifference and arrogance of those who had possessions, “should be exempted from the suspicion that he has no understanding of, or goodwill towards, the endeavours made to fight the economic inequality of men and all that it leads to.”⁸³ We must remember that, with the solitary exception of *Marx*, *Freud* was perhaps the only scientist in recent times who was really moved by the “discontents” of civilization and who did more than any one single person to discover the causes of, and to cure, the existing social discontent and maladjustment. If we also remember that Freud was a

82 Freud : *Civilization and its Discontents*.

83. *Ibid*

genuine seeker after truth and that, he knew "the manifold variety of humanity and its mental life," and, above all, was keen to preserve "the truly precious things in life,"⁸⁴ we have to give due consideration to his weighty analysis of the human urges, before rejecting an institution which has been exploited by capitalists and the Bourgeoisie for their own profit. We must not throw away 'the baby with the bath,' and we need not reject a sound principle because of its unsound application.

We may conclude our account of Property by emphasizing some of the points elaborated above. We must note *first*, that Property has from the earliest times played a very important part in the ordering of our individual and corporate life, that it has undergone considerable changes as society changed its structure and organization, that its vitality is due to the fact that it satisfies fundamental human needs and urges and has contributed to the progress of civilization in the past. On the other hand, we have seen that property is not sacrosanct: it claims our loyalty only in so far as it helps self-expression and self-development and proves conducive to social welfare. In our own times, property has been divorced from social obligation: it has been regarded as a privilege rather than a right. "This privilege of ownership constitutes the foundation of an inequality which hardly bears any relation to intelligence, skill or moral worth."⁸⁵ What we have to denounce openly is the

84. Ibid.

85. Damle. *Civics for Beginners*

tyranny of *functionless property*" and "the *Macht-politik* of the acquisitive society." We must relate property to work and worth and harness it to social service. A proper place must be assigned to wealth and power in the hierarchy of values by relating wealth to welfare and power to responsibility. Possession must not supersede personality, gold must not degrade the soul. Our economic and industrial organization has become vicious, inasmuch as it allows human beings to be treated as mere tools, *mere means to ends*. Kant said long ago that we have no right to treat any human being as a mere means to our end. Prostitution, slavery and many other ancient institutions had to be rejected on this principle. There is no reason why the old historic institution of private property should not also go, if it cannot be transformed into some form of joint proprietorship, in which all alike, workers as well as mill-owners, tenants as well as landlords, can enjoy full rights of ownership. The Communists visualize such a state of affairs, when they talk of the abolition of private property and the creation of a class-less State. The gulf between the masses and the classes has become so wide in modern industrial society that small doses of "democratic liberalism" will not help in bridging it. The social status of modern man depends upon his economic position and this gives rise to tremendous power in the hands of the few, *power to use the personality of others as a mere means*. The old argument in favour of private property was based on the sanctity of the human personality. That argument today is being utilized by the

Marxians in favour of abolition of private property.

“Property” according to the *Hindu* view, “writes Sir S. Radhakrishnan,” is a mandate held by its possessors for the common use and benefit of the commonwealth. The *Bhagwata* tells us that we have a claim only to so much as would satisfy our hunger. If anyone desires more, he is a thief deserving punishment. To gain wealth and power at the expense of society is a social crime. To destroy surplus products simply because we cannot sell them for profit is an outrage on humanity.”⁸⁶ Again, according to *Ramayana*, “a man who is keen on wealth for its own sake is to be deserted.”⁸⁷ A modern writer, J. A. Hobson, has coined a happy term for all evil forms of property, property which is worshipped as an end in itself, property which is concentrated in the hands of the few and used by them to control the lives of the many. He calls it “*Improperly*” and our attack must be directed at the modern degeneration of property.

The present economic discontent and the wide gulf between the classes and the masses leads us to raise the question of Social gradation. We speak of persons belonging to the upper, middle and lower classes. This common use of the term ‘class’ is sociologically inexact and has little scientific value. Even the Marxians sometimes roughly classify the modern society into three broad groups :—(1) the

86. Radhakrishnan : Eastern Religions and Western Thought

87. Ramayana . Kanda II, verses 21—38.

Capitalists, (2) the *Petit-bourgeois* and (3) the Proletariat. Social classes are based on a "horizontal" division of the community, the idea of comparative status, or the distinction between higher and lower, being fundamental to this classification. MacIver defines the class as "any portion of a community which is marked off from the rest, not by limitations, arising out of language, locality, function or specialization, but primarily by social status."⁸⁸ It is really the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, which draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each, and stratifies a whole society.

The definition of social class, offered by *Max Weber*, is an interesting attempt to give prominence to the economic aspect, while still retaining the essential, subjective element.

Max
definition of
class.

Weber's
definition of
social
class.

According to him, class is the community of those who, as a group, have the same lot in life, or the same life-chances, as determined typically by material possessions, rank or station, and by cultural factors.⁸⁹ Max Weber builds the concept of class upon *three* factors, (a) the possession of economic means, (b) the external standard of living, and (c) cultural and recreational possibilities. Thus, class distinctions would seem to rest on status and not on function or occupation. The difference in social status may be due to

88. MacIver : *Society*—A Text-book of Sociology.

89. Max Weber : *Wirtschaft and Gesellschaft* (III, Chap. 4),

distinctions of income-levels, occupations, birth, culture, race and so forth, within a given society. *Subjectively*, members of the same class have a sense of equality and freedom while dealing with one another. A class acquires an exclusiveness which is expressed in all social intercourse and modes of behaviour; there is no ease and freedom in the social intercourse among persons belonging to different classes. Their rank in social hierarchy is an index of the value assigned by society to the respective modes of life they follow. Thus, in the ideal Republic, Plato gives the highest place of honour to philosophers, because they dedicate their entire life to the pursuit of Ultimate Values, Truth, Beauty and Goodness. The traders and craftsmen are given a lower position, as they minister to man's vegetative and animal needs and comforts, having merely instrumental value. Again, in the ancient Hindu society, Brahmans were given the place of honour, as the pursuit of intellectual, cultural and spiritual values was their dignified function, Vaishyas occupying a lower place in the hierarchy, as they were concerned with wealth and material well-being.

The ownership of the instruments of production is the main principle upon which the Marxists divide society into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The latter, i.e., the working class, consists of property-less individuals who have nothing in their possession but their power to sell their labour for wages. But the commodity they sell, viz., their labour-power, is such as cannot be accumulated and sold at conve-

The Marxian view

nience. Hence they are compelled to sell it at a loss, or else they have to suffer starvation. They are thus thrown at the mercy of the employers for their subsistence. They enjoy little independence and exercise no control over the economic machine. The huge economic machinery controlled by the capitalists makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, and widens the gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' This means a bare subsistence-wage for the working class, a very low standard of life and consequently, the lowest gradation in the social scale. The age of legalized slavery and serfdom is thus followed by the age of sweated labour, a disguised form of slavery and serfdom which is worse, because it cannot be abolished by any legislation, and is more subtle, inasmuch as it is *unconscious*, as the workers themselves do not realize that their status is hardly better than that of the ancient slaves and the mediaeval serfs. The Marxians undertake to awaken the proletariat to realize the depth of their degradation and the intensity of their exploitation at the hands of the Capitalists, the Liberal Democratic State and the priests of all Bourgeois Culture, conspiring together in an unholy alliance, in order to maintain the *Status Quo*, and to suppress the masses by repression and force, even ruthless violence, if there is awakening and an organized demand for the recognition of their rights. We may refer to the use of force in recent times by the so-called democratic States, to suppress strikes in factories.

Between the property-less working class and the big property-holders there is an intermediate class

known as the middle class or the '*petite bourgeoisie*.' Its composition is not quite homogeneous, including, as it does, many social groups; the different groups, however, conform to a particular standard of life and culture, different from the poor workers on the one hand and the rich capitalists on the other,—the "*Sufed-posh*." (सफेद पोश) or the '*white-collar*' workers. According to the communists, the middle class is only a passing phase; it will have to side with one of the two contending parties in the struggle. This is, indeed, the chief "*Menace of Fascism*" in the "*Coming Struggle for Power*,"⁹⁰ as *Fascism*, like its ally, *National Socialism* or *Nazism*, by enticing this middle class to the side of the National State, is delaying the dialectical process. Communism, on the other hand, wants to precipitate class-struggle for achieving its cherished goal of a class-less society. That is why Nationalism is so hostile to Communism which is definitely International in character.

In modern capitalist society, the individual, *in theory*, is free to follow any profession he likes and to make his way to the higher class by improving his economic status. But, *in practice*, his choice of profession and his rise in the social scale are very much restricted. The social status of the individual is mostly determined *for* him and not *by* him. "The present class structure of society involves much unfair competition, produces mutual distrust and bitterness among the different classes, and contains within it the seeds of violent revolution."⁹¹

90. Strachey : *The Coming Struggle for Power*,

91. Damle : *Civics for Beginners*,

Thus we see that the Marxists define social class in purely economic terms. According to MacIver,

this definition is inadequate socio-
 logically for *two* important reasons.

The Marxian view criticized.

“In the first place, there are class differences which do not correspond to economic differences. In the Hindu caste system, members of the highest or Brahmin caste, without diminishing their “social distance,” may be the employees or servants of members of a lower caste and very inferior to the latter with respect to wealth. Again, an old established landed class frequently regard themselves as socially superior to an industrial class of ‘*nouveaux riches*.’ In the second place, the concept of class loses its sociological significance, if it is *defined* by any purely objective criterion, such as income level or occupational function. Class does not unite people unless they *feel* their unity and separate them unless they feel their separation. Unless class-consciousness is present, we do not have a social class but a mere logical category or type. If ‘white-collar’ workers do not regard themselves as belonging to the same class as artisans, then they do not together form one social class.”⁹²

We have quoted at length from Professor MacIver partly because he is the leading sociologist in America, and partly because he has given due importance to the *psychological* element in sociological groups. The Marxists themselves lay emphasis upon the element of ‘class-conscious’; as a matter of

92. MacIver: *Society—A Text-book of Sociology*.

fact, one of the important items in the programme of the communists has always been to develop the 'class-consciousness' of the peasants, the workers and other economic or occupational units, by organizing Trade Unions, and educating the masses in civic matters. It is only by making the unconscious processes of History conscious that we can hope to speed up the slow movement of the dialectical transition from Capitalism to Communism. We do not see how the Marxian view could be called purely *objective*, because *Marx* and *Engels*, more than anyone else, emphasized the psychological element themselves. There is just one other difficulty which we find in MacIver's definition of class, and that is due to our emphasis on the unconscious side of human nature. It may be that the class-consciousness is actually dim or vague, or even totally absent, in a given group but that may be due to some severe '*repression*' or deliberate distortion by an organized conspiracy of silence or by inculcating false educational or ethical ideals. Much of what goes in modern society by the name of Culture, Morals and Religion is due to this tyranny of Society and convention. '*The Discontents of Civilization*' may be really due to this social and economic maladjustment and 'mass-neuroses.' Social discontent may have roots in the pathological ways of thinking and acting, which have been bequeathed to us through organized deception and self-deception of the past generations. Wrong attitudes of thought, emotion and will, have been passed on to us by our parents. Our emphasis on the 'individualistic' aspect of

Education,⁹³ and our plea for giving more freedom to the growing child, would provide a necessary corrective to this social malady. The breakdown of the old morality and the complete distintegration of old institutions, like the Family and Marriage, may, to a large extent, be due to the *tyranny of codes and the hypocrisy of the so-called 'moral' or 'pure.'*

We have now to give a brief account of an ancient institution like the Caste system of the

The Caste System
in India

Hindus, and to try to correlate it to the modern concept of class. As MacIver says, "When status is wholly predetermined, so that men are born to their lot in life without hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of Caste. This is the situation in Hindu society."⁹⁴ Quoting from a recent Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, he proceeds: "Every Hindu necessarily belongs to the caste of his parents, and in that caste he inevitably remains. No accumulation of wealth and no exercise of talents can alter his caste status; and marriage outside his caste is prohibited or severely discouraged."⁹⁵ Thus, "caste is a complete barrier to the mobility of class. In principle, it involves an absolute and permanent stratification of the community."⁹⁶ In the same connection, MacIver goes on to say that "In India, with its multitudinous caste compartments, the higher caste groups, at the

93 See Chap. IV above.

94. MacIver : Society—A Text-book of Sociology

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

top the Brahmin and next in order the Kshattriya and the Vaishya, are thought of as beings of different clay from the low caste group of the Sudras, while still further beyond these lie the "outcasts," the "untouchables," whose very presence is a defilement to the rest, who pollute food and water by their touch, and who in some regions may not even approach the neighbourhood of the high-caste Hindu."⁹⁷ As Prof. Damle sums up the difference, "Classes are elastic, whereas castes are rigid. Classes are interchangeable, while castes are watertight compartments. Classes are capable of adaptation to changing environment and are the sign and result of progress. Classes are determined by social needs, while castes are founded on a religious dogma, which makes them rigid and immobile. The doctrine of 'Karma' is the inspiration, if not the foundation, of caste. Castes are determined by birth, which no one can help or change. The system of castes, therefore, proves a drag on social progress."⁹⁸

In its most perfect form, the institution of caste is found among the Hindus, and it constitutes a distinctive feature of their social organization. It is bound up with their religion: it has influenced Hindu law and custom. Indeed, it has coloured the entire Hindu outlook on life. The caste is, however, a very complex phenomenon. It is not the same everywhere, and it has undergone many changes in its long history. Many divergent views have been held by scholars about its origin, nature and func-

97. MacIver. *Society—A Text-book of Sociology*

98. Damle. *Civics for Beginners*.

tion. We shall review some of its salient features here, in order to clear up the confusions arising from one-sided views, held by European scholars who do not understand the essential "*spirit*" of the religion and philosophy of the Ancient Hindus.

It is necessary at the outset to distinguish between "*Varna*" and "*Jati*," two terms, which are often confused with each other. "*Varna*"

"*Varna*," is the ideal of class system as pictured by the Hindus, while "*Jati*" represents its crystallized form, and refers in general to the actual social conditions in India. "*Varna*" literally means 'colour.' The usual view is that colour is an indication of race, and that originally there were only two *Varnas*, the fair-skinned *Aryans* and the dark-skinned *Dasyus*. Later, we have a four-fold division of society, "*Chatur-Varnya*," into Brahmins, Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. In this later division, the factors of culture and function are more important than the racial factor. The idea underlying the fourfold scheme is somewhat similar to the scheme of the Republic of Plato, viz., that "spiritual wisdom and cultural pursuits, executive and military power, skilled production and economic organization, and lastly devoted service, as the indispensable elements of any social order."⁹⁹ By this scheme the ancient Hindu thinkers and seers intended "to hold the people together." They, therefore, admitted "primitive societies and foreign settlers, such as the Greeks and Scythians, into the Hindu fold and recognized their priestly families as Brahmanas and

99. G. H. Mees : *Dharma and Society*.

their fighting men as Kshattriyas.”¹⁰⁰

This was the Hindu solution of the problem of conflict between different races, tribes and cultures.

A parallel in Plato's Republic.

To begin with, no restrictions were imposed on inter-marriage and inter-dining. The occupations were not hereditary. “*Varna*” was based on “*Guna*” (Quality) and “*Karma*” (Heredity and Action). *Varna* defined duties, but conferred no privileges. We usually have now come to associate power and pleasure with social rank, but according to the original theory of *Varna*, the higher the individual's rank, the stricter his discipline and the more exacting his duties. A parallel conception is found in the fourth book of the Republic, which begins with the famous objection of *Adeimantus* regarding the happiness of the Guardian class in the Ideal Republic ; “Then what defence will you make, Socrates, if any one protests that you are not making the men of this class particularly happy?—when it is their own fault, too, if they are not ; for the city really belongs to them, and yet they derive no advantage from it, as others do, who own lands and build fine large houses, and, in fact, as you said just now, possess gold and silver, and everything that is usually considered necessary to happiness ;”¹⁰¹ Socrates replies with his characteristic equanimity as follows : “Our object in the construction of our State is not to make any one class pre-eminently happy, but to make the whole State as happy as it can be made. For we

100. Radhakrishnan : Eastern Religions and Western Thought,

101. Plato , The Republic, Book IV, 420.

thought that in such a State we should be most likely to discover justice, as on the other hand in the worst-regulated State we should be most likely to discover injustice."¹⁰² And he gives an apt simile to illustrate his point : " Now, if some one came up to us while we were painting statues, and blamed us for not putting the most beautiful colours on the most beautiful parts of the body, because the eyes, being the most beautiful part, were not painted purple but black, we should think it a sufficient defence to reply, Pray, sir, do not suppose that we ought to make the eyes so beautiful as not to look like eyes, nor the other parts in like manner, but observe whether, *by giving to every part what properly belongs to it, we make the whole beautiful.*"¹⁰³

In our own century, a German sociological writer, *Rudolf Steiner* has worked out a parallel conception

"The Three-fold State";
Rudolf Steiner.

to suit modern European conditions.¹⁰⁴ Like several other sociologists, Dr. Steiner begins by comparing the human society to the human body. He

urges that there are *three* main functions in the social organism, just as there are *three* main functions in the human body : (1) The *nervous* system, having its centre in the brain, (2) the *circulatory* system, having its centre in the heart, (3) the *nutritive* system, having its centre in the stomach. Their distinctive characteristics are *Nerve, Muscle,*

102. Plato : The Republic, Book IV, 421.

103. Ibid. IV, 421.

104. R. Steiner : The Three-fold State : Die Dreigliederung des sozialen Organismus.

and *Nutriments*. The corresponding functions in the social organism are : (1) its more spiritual aspects, —science, art, literature, philosophy, religion, education, everything connected with the development and expression of the human personality and the realization of the ultimate values in human life ; (2) its more mechanical aspects,—the protection of life and property, the defence against aggression from without, the establishment and enforcement of laws, everything connected with justice and with the State in the narrower sense of the word ; (3) its more assimilative aspects,—the use and control of natural forces, the practical application of science, everything connected with the industrial side of life and with the production of *instrumental values*.

Dr. Steiner's use of the analogy between the physical and the social organism, though bearing a certain resemblance to the scheme in the Republic, leads to very different results. Of the three aspects, recognized by Plato and by Dr. Steiner, only the *third* can be regarded as having any complete correspondence in the two schemes. What Plato refers to the region of the heart is the element of "spirit." The fact that he regarded this aspect of human nature, as being essentially allied to the more rational aspect, and properly subject to its control, makes the fundamental distinction between his theory and that of Dr. Steiner less conspicuous than it would otherwise be. On both theories, this seems to relate essentially to the more purely animal impulses and emotions, such as anger, fear, natural

Difference from
Plato's conception,

affection, and the like, which *in the individual* have to be controlled by reason and *in society* have to be governed by law. In popular language, these are commonly referred to the heart, though it is not scientific to stress the analogy between the physiological and the social organisms too far. With regard to the *first* and *second* aspects, however, we may note an important divergence from Plato. "Plato, by connecting the first aspect purely with head, tends to give it an exclusively intellectual interpretation; whereas Dr. Steiner, by thinking of it in relation to the whole nervous system, is able to give it a much wider application, including everything that can be properly described as spiritual—covering poetry, for instance, as well as philosophy and religion."¹⁰⁵

Whether we agree with Mackenzie's hostile interpretation of Plato's scheme or not, it is clear that he has given a brief and lucid summary of Dr. Steiner's conception of "a real trinity in the State" in the article quoted above, from which we have freely drawn. "It is three in one, as well as one in three," says he, regarding the 'Three-fold State' of Dr. Steiner. The separation of its functions is as real as their essential unity. The philosopher is not to be the king, nor is he to be the captain of industry. It remains, indeed, to be seen whether there are to be any supreme captains. It is not the function of the brain, at any rate, to exercise any direct control over the circulation; and the stomach has to carry

105, Mackenzie: The Three-fold State—Hibbert Journal, Vol. XX, 3.

on its particular work without the immediate guidance either of the head or of the heart. This, in itself, is obviously a very important difference ;”¹⁰⁶ We are afraid that Mackenzie has here

stressed the separation of functions to a breaking point ; indeed, even if we follow the analogy of the physiological organism, the neurologists tell us that the nervous system directly controls the func-

Plato defended
against Macken-
zie's criticism.

tions of the liver and the intestines, and contemporary medical psychology has come to the definite

conclusion that both the nervous system and the emotional life of an individual *directly* and *immediately* control his appetite, sleep and digestion. In grief and in anxiety, the circulation of blood and the entire digestive system are disturbed. If the connection is so intimate and direct in the psycho-physical organism, how much more so it must be in the socio-political organism of the State and society. The reverence for the State which is so characteristic of the German attitude is due to their emphasizing this fundamental unity of the whole civic and national life and their identification of the State with “*the central power* by which the whole of its ‘*Kultur*’ is sustained.” The Greeks, especially the Athenians, were lovers of freedom as well as of Art and Poetry ; “yet they also tended to think of the State in the larger sense of the word, as being the power by which art and every aspect of the common life was rightly controlled ; and Plato compares this control with that which the head, assisted by the

106. Mackenzie · The Threo-fold State Hibbert Journal, Vol XX, 3.

active co-operation of the heart, exercises over the bodily organism. Hence he thinks of the rulers as being philosophers as well as kings, and as concerning themselves with every department of social life. The organism is one ; and it has a single controlling organ."¹⁰⁷

We feel that, in this matter, the spirit of German Idealistic theories of the State is fundamentally identical with the Platonic view, and both Dr. Steiner and Mackenzie have been unduly influenced by the conception of the Trinity. Social Philosophy, like Philosophy in general, must return to Monism from Pluralism of all varieties, if we have to save society from the chaos of multiple loyalties, viz., loyalty to the Church, to the Family and to the State. It is only in this spirit that we can understand and even appreciate Plato's quarrel with Poetry. In spite of his own artistic gifts and temperament, Plato had no hesitation in banishing Homer from his ideal Republic. What Mackenzie regards as a "*limitation*" in Plato and "his failure to do full justice to the place of poetry in education and in life," we consider the essential wisdom of a great seer.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, as Nettleship remarks, "the impression of an entirely hostile attitude to poetry in general"¹⁰⁹ is totally false. Plato's idea is that the poet should take his place in the commonwealth, "not as an ornamental luxury, but as an integral

Philosophy vs.
Poetry.

107. Ibid

108 Ibid.

109. Nettleship : Theory of Education in Plato's Republic.

part of it, with a work of his own, imprinting the first indelible ideas upon the souls of the young, revealing the nature of God in forms of imaginative truth, and surrounding the mind with an atmosphere of health and beauty."¹¹⁰ This is an enviable position of paramount importance which Plato assigns to the poet in his Republic. It is certainly not a position of which any poet need be ashamed. Plato does not make the poet "a literary tailor who cuts his wares to order," but, on the contrary, regards him as the central pivot, on whom the entire machinery of the State and the social organism rests. Indeed, Plato gives to the poet a unique place of honour, comparable to that given by Milton in his famous eulogy of poetry.

We must now return to the Indian conception, embodied in the Laws of Manu, and the theory which lies at the foundation of the Caste system. We may take the analysis of the bodily organism, given by Dr. Bhagwan Das, as a typical exposition in modern times of the ancient Hindu ideals. The human body is regarded as falling into *four* essentially distinct parts—the head, the breast and arms, the lower half of the trunk, and the feet and nether limbs. Corresponding to these, there are four distinct castes in the social organism—the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas, and the Shudras. This correspondence is pictorially represented in the Hindu Mythology by the Allegory that the Brahmanas issued from the mouth of *Brahma*, the Kshat-

Difference from the
Indian conception

riyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet.

The Brahmans, corresponding to the head, are the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the whole society. They are philosophers, but not kings. They may draw up laws, but it is not their business to enforce them. They are priests and teachers, supported by the community, and rewarded with high honour. The Kshatriyas, corresponding to the

“Headmen and
Shouldermen of
Ruskin.

arms and shoulders, are the political and military rulers. In the framing of their laws they would generally

be assisted and guided by the advice of the Brahmans, but it is their special function *to see that the laws are carried out*, and to protect the general interests of the whole. Their reward lies in the possession of great power. The Vaishyas are the captains of industry. Their reward is their wealth which, however, they are expected to use for the good of the community. The Shudras, finally, have no special function but that of service, which they owe to the other three classes. They are supported with the necessities of life, and their rulers reward them with amusements.

According to Dr. Bhagwan Das, if the principles underlying the Indian scheme were more fully recognized and adapted to modern

A modern defence.

conditions, a better order of society would speedily be established. “All

the true Brahmans, the scientists, men of letters, priests, legislators, of all faiths and climes, could then co-operate, with lessened exclusiveness and

thinned barriers of caste, creed, nation and race, and increased good will, in a world-wide educational organization, for the advancement of sound knowledge and good law, for the benefit of the whole of humanity. So, all the true Kshatriyas of all countries and creeds could join in a federalist political organization for the protection of the good from the evil, and for the preservation of peace and order throughout the whole world. So, all the true Vaishyas of all lands and religions could combine in an international economic organization, for the enhancement of the comforts of life of all the populations of all countries. And so all the Shudras could similarly co-operate, under guidance, in an international industrial organization, for the production of all necessities of life in ample measure for the use of all the peoples of the earth."¹¹¹

Thus we see that originally caste divisions were based on individual temperament, heredity, social needs and the principle of division of labour. A *Smriti* text says that one is born a Shudra, and through purification he becomes a Brahman. The Brahmins are the priests, the seers who constitute the conscience of society : they should have neither property nor executive power. The Kshatriyas are the administrators, whose principle is reverence for life. The Vaishyas are the traders and craftsmen, men of technical ability who aim at efficiency. The routine workers, the proletariat, are the Shudras, who carry out instructions and lead a life of innocent

Caste and Un-
touchability.

111. Bhagwan Das : Social Reconstruction,

impulse and adopt traditional ways. Their joy is in the fulfilment of family obligations of marriage and parenthood, and other personal relationships. In the words of Radhakrishnan, "The caste groups are mere trade guilds in charge of the cultural, political, economic and industrial sections of the community."¹¹²

It is true that as arts and crafts grew in number and complexity, castes based on occupations developed and the four classes became separated into rigid groups dependent on birth. But the recognition of the Spirit in man is the essential feature of Hinduism which regards all men as equal. "Caste is diversity of function, and the goal of life is a transcendence of caste diversity by disinterested service. The caste scheme is meant to apply to all mankind."¹¹³ The fact that caste was not viewed in a rigid way is borne out by the examples of Vishvamitra and Janaka, who attained the rank and status of Brahmans by virtue of their learning, wisdom and saintly character. The Bhagavata tells us, 'Even though a Shudra, if you do good, you become a Brahman. We are Brahmans not on account of birth or the performance of rites, not by study or family, but on account of our behaviour. Even if we are born Shudras, by good conduct we can raise ourselves to the highest status.'¹¹⁴

Rigidity
Caste

of

learning, wisdom and saintly character. The Bhagavata tells us,

'Even though a Shudra, if you do

good, you become a Brahman. We are Brahmans not on account of birth or the performance of rites, not by study or family, but on account of our behaviour. Even if we are born Shudras, by good conduct we can raise ourselves to the highest status.'¹¹⁴

112. S. Radhakrishnan: Religion and Society, p. 129.

113. Ibid, p. 130.

114. Ibid. pp. 131-132 (cited from the Bhagavata).

Inspite of good intentions, however, caste developed a sense of false pride, and led to the humiliation of the lower classes. Manu limits the right to study the Dharmshastras to Brahmans, though Shamkara rightly holds that members of all castes can read them. When excessive rigidity and formalism overtook the original scheme, protests were uttered by the followers of *Jainism* and *Buddhism*, who emphasized the ideal of human brotherhood. Later on, during the Mohammedan period in our History, preachers of human brotherhood like Ramananda, Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Dadu and Namdeva, arose, in order to re-kindle the dying embers of life and light in Hindu society and religion. The same liberalizing tradition has been kept up by reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Gandhi in recent times.

Protests from
Reformers.

It must, however, be admitted that caste divisions have prevented the development of homogeneity among the Hindus. In order to develop a degree of organic wholeness and a sense of common obligation, the caste spirit must go. *We have to get rid of the innumerable castes and outcastes, with their spirit of exclusiveness, jealousy and greed.* Pollution by touch must be given up. The sin of untouchability is degrading, and the prejudice should be removed. Any discrimination against the Harijans is unjustified. Places of worship, public wells, and public utilities, such as cremation grounds and bathing ghats, hotels and educational institutions, should be open to all. Gandhi said at the Round Table

Conference in London as early as 1931, "Let the whole world know that today there is a body of

Gandhi and Un- touchability. *Hindu reformers who feel that untouchability is the shame, not of the untouchables, but of orthodox Hinduism,*

and they are therefore pledged to remove this blot I would far *rather that Hinduism died than untouchability lived* I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing, I would resist it with my life."¹¹⁵

It is gratifying to find that the new Constitution of our Democratic Republic, which came into force on January 26, 1950, has actually legalized what was a mere dream and a pious wish of this great reformer of Hinduism. In Part III, Art. 17, among the Fundamental Rights, guaranteed by the Constitution, we read : "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement

Untouchability and Constitution of India. *of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.*"¹¹⁶

It is a pity that Gandhi did not live to see this part of his dream realized so fully in so short a time and this blot completely removed from our society.

115. Gandhi's speech, R. T. Conference, London, 1931.

116. Indian Constitution, Part III, Art 17.

CHAPTER VII

THE STATE

The State occupies the foremost place among all the associations and institutions in society. The

The State and
Society.

State is a political organization with a controlling authority which regulates and co-ordinates the different phases of social life. In the absence of such a central authority, society could not be held together and there would be disorder and confusion. Society and the State were identified by the ancient Greeks, and the same essential spirit manifests itself in the great idealist systems of Germany. This identification was a characteristic feature of the socio-political life of the Greeks. The modern Nazis and Fascists also went back to Plato for their inspiration in this respect. To the ancient Greeks, as well as to the modern Germans, Italians and Russians, to be a good man was equivalent to being a loyal citizen. According to modern sociological thinkers, however, Society and State, must be clearly distinguished. The scope of Society is wider than that of the State. A man's life is not exhausted by his political obligations. "The state," says MacIver¹⁷, "is a structure, not coeval and coextensive with society, but built within it as a determinate order for the attainment of specific ends." Society consists of many other institutions, apart from the State, in and through

which man seeks to satisfy his varied needs and aspirations.

Many definitions of the State have been given in recent times : but the subject has been much obscured by a *failure to distinguish between problems of Sociology and Social Philosophy*. The State has frequently been defined in terms of *what ought to be*, and not in terms of *what it actually is*. Thus, many idealist philosophers describe the State as the agency within a territorially demarcated area, whose function is to harmonize and adjust *all* the interests and purposes of social life. This description is defective from two points of view : (a) it is by no means clear that the State always acts as such a harmonizing agency ; (b) it might be held by some that there are numerous social relations which ought not to come within the scope of State regulation, e.g., family and education. "From a sociological point of view, we must regard the State," says Ginsberg, "as a genus with many species varying greatly in scope and function, and in its relations to other associations. As a minimum, we may say that the State exists in all communities in which the protection of the members and the enforcement of common rules are functions of a differentiated system of organs."¹¹⁸ Hobhouse defines the State as follows : "A State is a fabric in which the principal functions of Government, the declaration of law, its execution, and common defence, are

Ginsberg
Hobhouse and
State. on the

118 Ginsberg : Sociology.

differentiated and co-ordinated.”¹¹⁹ Thus we may say that those primitive communities in which rules are not enforced by *collective* action, but the protection of individuals is left to individuals or other groups, possessed of no defined authority, like the *Indian Rajahs* or ruling chiefs in the recent past, are not States. The most generally recognized function of the State has been that of defence, internal and external, and the use of the collective resources for the common well-being. It is, however, even now a matter of controversy how far the State ought to play an active part in promoting the common good. Leaving aside some of the most primitive peoples, who have no differentiated governments at all, the State seems to be a universal institution. But the assertion that the State is ‘*natural*’, is ambiguous and misleading. Some form of society is an inherent need of human nature. “All associations have their root,” in this sense, “in man’s sociality and in the fundamental need of co-operative enterprise.” But no particular form of State, for example, the modern nation State, can be said to be natural, “either in the sense of issuing immediately out of man’s *inborn* impulses, or of expressing spontaneously his final end or *telos*.”¹²⁰ Hence it is important not to confuse the State with society. The State is a species of society, viz., that described as an association. It is also a set of institutions and in this sense includes the whole organized fabric of law and government.

The mechanism through which the laws of the

119. Hobhouse. *Social Development*.

120. Ginsberg : *Sociology*.

State are enacted, interpreted and executed, is called government. Government is the instrument with which the State performs its functions. The State is relatively an abstract notion, while government

The State and
Government.

gives to it a concrete, shape and form. Forms of government change according to circumstances and the spirit and traditions of the people. The State, however, remains, its chief purpose being the maintenance of social order and the promotion of social well-being. It accomplishes its purpose through the intricate machinery of government with its legislature, executive and judicial departments. "The State is a great and lasting partnership based on ineradicable factors. Government is a transient arrangement within the State, liable to change according to convenience."¹²¹

Etymologically, a nation means people having a common origin, ("natus" being the Latin for "born"). The word 'nation' has,

The Nation State.

however, acquired a popular and semi-scientific import which goes beyond its original meaning. Geographic unity, community of race, language and religion, community of culture, customs and traditions, and common economic interests and political aspirations are the important factors constituting a nation. But these factors are by no means essential or universal. Every nation, however, must possess some of them at least. There is no racial unity in the United States of America, yet it is a nation. Switzerland is a nation, though

three distinct languages are spoken in the country. With the growth of religious freedom, the influence of religion as a bond of national unity has dwindled. It is, however, "the consciousness of being a nation that really makes a nation" "It is more a psychological and spiritual unity than a mere ethnic or geographical unity."¹²² Zimmern defines a nation as "a body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity, related to a definite home-country." As Prof. Damle observes, "Before a genuine and ardent desire to live together and to serve and to suffer for the home-land, all considerations of race, language and religion fade into insignificance."¹²³ Many modern writers attach a political significance to the concept of nation and maintain that a nation, to be a nation in the full sense of the term, must have a government of its own. A nation, they hold, is nationality *plus* the State. According to Zimmern, however, a nation is not a State, and where the two coincide, we have a nation-state.

According to Marxism, "a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, *economic life* and *psychological make-up* manifested in a community of culture." The last two, viz., "community of economic life, *economic cohesion*" and "community of psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a community of culture," are the chief characteristic features of a nation. None of

122. Marxism and the National Question.

123. Damle : Civics for Beginners,

the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a nation. If one of these is absent, the nation ceases to be nation. It is possible to conceive people possessing a common 'national character,' but they cannot be said to constitute a single nation, "if they are economically disunited, inhabit different territories, speak different languages, and so forth. Such, for instance, are the Russian, Galician, American, Georgian and Caucasian Highland Jews, who do not," according to Stalin, "constitute a single nation." Again, "it is possible to conceive people with a common territory and economic life who nevertheless would not constitute a single nation because they have no common language and no common 'national character.' Such, for instance, are the Germans and Letts in the Baltic Region. Finally, the Norwegians and the Danes speak one language, but they do not constitute a single nation owing to the absence of other characteristics. *It is only when all these characteristics are present that we have a nation.*"¹²⁴

According to R. Springer, "a nation is a union of similarly thinking and similarly speaking persons."

The views of
Springer and Bauer
criticized.

It is "a cultural community of modern people no longer tied to the soil." O. Bauer goes further and defines a nation as "a relative community of character." National character, according to Bauer, is "the sum-total of characteristics which distinguish the people of one nationality from the people of another nationality—the complex of

124. Marxism and the National Question.

physical and spiritual characteristics which distinguish one nation from another." This was the view held by the Social-Democratic theoreticians on the national question well-known in Austria. Stalin refuted this view in the pamphlet quoted above, as at that time there were two conflicting theories of nations and, correspondingly, two national programmes: the *Austrian* programme, supported by the *Bund* and the *Mensheviks*, and the *Russian* programme, the programme of the *Bolsheviks*. According to Marxians, however, subsequent events, especially the imperialist war (1914-1918) and the complete disintegration of Austria-Hungary into several national States, clearly demonstrated that history has condemned the 'Austrian-school.' As Stalin said in 1920, "even the Bund has been obliged to admit that 'the demand for national cultural autonomy,' which was put forward under the capitalist system, 'loses all meaning in the conditions of a socialist revolution.' The Bund does not even suspect that it thereby admitted (inadvertently admitted) the *fundamental* unsubstantiality of the theoretical basis of the Austrian national programme and the *fundamental* unsubstantiality of the Austrian theory of nations."¹²⁵

Bauer, of course, knows that national character does not fall from the skies; so, according to him, *the character of people is determined by nothing so much as by their fate A nation is nothing but a community of fate which, in its turn, is determined by the conditions under which people produce their*

125, Stalin: Preface to a "Collection of Articles, 1920,"

means of subsistence and distribute the products of their labour." "A nation is the aggregate of people bound into a community of character by a community of fate." But "What *national community*,"

A Community of
Fate.

asks Stalin, "can there be among people who are economically disconnected, inhabit different territories, and from generation to generation speak different languages? Bauer speaks of the Jews as a nation, although they 'have no common language; but what 'community of fate' and national cohesion can there be, for instance, between the Georgian, Daghestanian, Russian and American Jews, who are completely disunited, inhabit different territories and speak different languages?" How, then, can it be seriously maintained that petrified religious rites and fading psychological relics affect the 'fate' of these Jews more powerfully than the living social, economic and cultural environment that surrounds them? What, then, distinguishes Bauer's nation from the mystical and self-contained 'national spirit' of the spiritualists? Bauer, by divorcing the 'distinctive feature' of nations (national character) from the 'conditions' of their life, sets up an impassable barrier between them. But what is national character, if not a reflection of the conditions of life, a coagulation of impressions derived from environment? How can one limit the matter to national character alone, isolating and divorcing it from the soil that gave rise to it?"¹²⁶

A nation is thus not merely "a historical cate-

gory" but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. This is the Marxian view. Modern sociologists, however, still maintain that "nationhood depends upon the existence of distinctive sentiments arising out of a conjunction of cultural traits. Many and diverse cultural elements may be involved, few of them seem to be indispensable What is indispensable is that there shall be a body of ideas shared by the great majority of members of the group. Thus Swiss nationhood is built on a passionate belief in local autonomy, a belief shared by citizens of all the cantons and overriding the differences in language, religion, and economic interests."¹²⁷

Viewed psychologically, it is still more difficult to define 'national character, by which is meant "the totality of dispositions to thought, feeling and behaviour peculiar to, and widespread in, a certain people, and manifested with greater or less continuity in a succession of generations. We often also speak of 'national temperament,' which means such *qualities of mind* " as the degree of intensity of response, the tempo of activity, the range of susceptibility to stimuli, the mood-colouring or predominant feeling-tone of behaviour."¹²⁸ By calling these qualities national, we mean that they are *widely and continuously dominant* in a given people, and also that they are reflected in the social institutions and traditions of the people

Complex National
Sentiment.

National Character.

127. Mess : Social Structure.

128 Ginsberg : Sociology.

and in its public policy. Thus it is said, for example, that the Germans are 'heavy,' slow to react, but once aroused, energetic and persistent; patient and industrious, disciplined and thorough; lacking in impulsiveness and expansiveness: with a tendency to individualism and exclusiveness. Or again, we hear that the English nation has energy, initiative, a sense of individual responsibility, law-abidingness, the habit of compromise and moderation¹²⁹; or that the French are vivacious, mobile and expansive, sociable, lacking the strength of the English or the heavy patience of the German."¹³⁰

The permanence and continuity of national character and temperament has been especially stressed by German writers, by National Geist or Soul some under the influence of a national "*Geist*" or Soul, by others under the influence of doctrines of *Race*. In England it has been stressed by McDougall in his *Group mind*. We must admit that there is unquestionably some continuity in the case of the great nations with a long historic past. Yet there seems to be no justification for thinking that national character is either unitary or unalterable. This was clearly pointed out by David Hume long ago in his well-known essay on *National Characters*. "The old Spaniards," he says, "were restless, turbulent and so addicted to war that many of them killed themselves when deprived of their arms by the Romans. One would find an equal difficulty at present (at least one would

129 Barker: *National Character*.

130. Ginsberg: *Sociology*.

have found it fifty years ago) to rouse up the modern Spaniards to war."¹³¹

In English history also Hume notes important differences at different periods in the degree of enthusiasm for religion. Professor Barker on National Character. Barker has recently commented on the new habits and tendencies which are being developed in modern England: "a greater febrility of temper, and gregariousness of behaviour, and greater readiness to submit to State regulation."¹³² The modern Germans furnish a good example of a change from an extreme individualism to the most exaggerated State worship.

Thus we may conclude that the psychology of peoples and nations has hardly yet attained scientific precision. "It consists in the main," as Ginsberg observes, "of a series of impressions, often by very brilliant writers and acute observers of the behaviour of different peoples and of inferences as to disposition derived from a study of their institutions and contributions to art and science. We must not belittle these efforts, or make the mistake of denying the existence of national characteristics merely on the ground that they have so far not lent themselves to exact analysis or quantitative measurement. Better results may be expected when more is known of the genetics of character, and when a reliable technique has been elaborated for observing and recording group behaviour."¹³³

131. David Hume: National Characters.

132. Barker: National Character.

133. Ginsberg Sociology.

We must now digress from our discussion in the field of theoretical definitions to ask a practical question of everyday interest. Is India a Nation ? India a nation, and if so, in what sense ? In the words of Vincent Smith, "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit." We need not lose sight of this unity of India behind its continental vastness and variety. It is true that there is a great diversity of races, languages and religious faiths in India, but this does not form an insurmountable barrier in the way of Indian nationality. The common economic interests and political aspirations, the awakening of national consciousness and the desire to serve the new Republic and the readiness to suffer for its progress, would certainly justify the claim that India is a nation. Again, if a common culture and social tradition is the indispensable condition of nationhood, the conflicting trends of cultural tradition among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs, are pointed out by some to prove that there are many nations within India. Still others would point out the different social and economic conditions prevailing in the various Indian States, varying from advanced States like Mysore, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Bengal to backward areas in Orissa, Assam and Madhya Bharat ; the conclusion would inevitably follow that India is not yet a homogeneous nation. Finally, the Marxian definition would permanently bar India from ever *becoming a nation-state*, unless it first followed Europe and got completely industrialized. The

concept of a nation-state is a logical deduction in the Dialectic of History from Capitalism and Industrialism. It may be that, on account of our vast agricultural resources, we may not follow the European model of industrialization but some form of large-scale mining, agriculture, Hydro-electric works and heavy industries may be visualized in the near future. Indeed, the trend of public opinion has already turned from the Charkha Economics to organized Cottage industries and State-owned Heavy industries. On the other hand, the increasing association and organization of labourers in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Kanpur in Trade Unions has given them an international status as wage-earners and workers. "Workers of the world, unite," need not long remain an empty dream of that Prince among dreamers, Karl Marx. If that happens in the future, then India may be saved the bitterness and weariness which the younger nations of Europe have had to face during the last forty years. For whatever the advantages and merits of the Nation-state in consolidating and refining the national and patriotic sentiments of a people, sooner or later, Nationalism leads to war and utter disruption of society.

Let us now return from the digression to our theoretical discussion and try to visualize precisely all the process by which the State has come into existence. Though society rests upon a *natural* basis, the actual forms of association, which we discover among mankind may be properly described as

Origin of the
State

conventional, like the use of forks or knives in eating, a purely natural urge of mankind. Our rational nature implies that we have the capacity to choose between several alternatives, the power of adaptation to environment, physical as well as social, and the tendency to devise machinery and to improve our technique. We do not always select our friends and our enemies spontaneously and instinctively, but on various grounds, sometimes well considered, sometimes arbitrary, sometimes almost instinctive. Our laws and forms of government have, for the most part, been established through a slow process of development in which *conscious* choice has doubtless played a considerable part, but *unconscious* motives, force of circumstances, power of *tradition* and many other subtle influences, that we cannot clearly explain, have also played an important part in guiding or thwarting our deliberate plans. "It is as natural for man to have particular laws and customs and modes of government as it is for birds to have particular forms of nests ; and it is natural that the former should be more variable than the latter. The results of instinct are, in their main aspects, uniform ; those of choice are endlessly diverse."¹³⁴ The State, being a highly differentiated, evolved and complicated association of man, is thus bound to combine in itself both the natural and the conventional elements in all community life. So far as we recognize that the State is natural and vital, it may be characterized as an organic unity : so far as it involves accident and choice, it may be charac-

¹³⁴, Mackenzie · *Outlines of Social Philosophy*.

terized as a social contract. It would be, however, incorrect to speak of the *origin of the State* in the sense that at a particular date in the past, the State, which was not there before, suddenly came into existence like a bolt from the blue, as it were. Many of the theories, that have been advanced by different thinkers from time to time, to explain the origin of the State, are mostly speculative in character.

The theory of Divine origin holds that the State is established by God and governed by the King, who derives his authority from God. The King is, on this view, responsible not to the subjects over whom he rules but to God. The theory is unscientific and as such it has been rejected by modern political thinkers.

Theory of Divine
Origin.

The theory of Force tries to explain the genesis of the State by referring to the brute force of physical coercion—*Might*. The State is the creature of Force. The origin of all such theories lies in the constant feuds and warfare among the primitive peoples, the stronger party always ruling over the weaker after victory in a pitched battle. There is doubtless much historical truth in this theory, as force has been an important factor in the evolution of the State, but it cannot be held that the State is the outcome of *sheer brute force*. Sociability, consent and co-operation have also contributed to the origin and development of political groups; it would be inaccurate to explain them in terms of one single factor. Human nature, as we have clearly shown elsewhere, is so complex

Theory of Force.

that an attempt at over-simplification in the explanation of the origin of any social institution is futile.

The theory of *Social Contract* regards the State as the outcome of a conscious and deliberate agreement

Theory of Social
Contract.

on the part of the people. This agreement lifted the people from the *State of nature* into a civil

society. In the state of nature, human relations were regulated by the law of nature. But when the state of nature became intolerable or inconvenient, it was abandoned in favour of a civil society. Among the modern exponents of this doctrine may be mentioned the names of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, though there is a good deal of difference in the expositions of the theory, given by these three thinkers. This conception of Social Contract was already suggested in the Second Book of the Republic by Plato, only to be set aside. It is also present in Ancient Indian thought, where the state of nature is depicted thus: "the logic of fish (*Matsya-nyaya*)" prevails, the strong devour the weak, like fishes in water.¹³⁵

The theory of Social Contract is suggested by Plato in the Republic in a form that pretty

Thrasymachus :
Might is Right.

definitely anticipates the one put forward by Hobbes. The Republic seeks to depict the ideal

State and its main purpose is to discover in what way justice is better than injustice. In the first book, which is a prelude to the main argument,

135. Mahabharata, Santiparva, LXVII, 16-17, Kautilya : Arthashastra, I 4

Plato asks the question, "What is justice?" Two current views of justice are put forward. The first is the conventional one that justice consists in doing good to friends and ill to foes. It receives a merciless criticism at the hands of Socrates. The second is expounded by the blustering Thrasymachus, who, "gathering himself up sprang at us like a wild beast as though he would seize and carry us off."¹³⁶ It is the doctrine of "*Might is Right*," which Plato had already discussed in the *Gorgias*. "Rulers," he says, "are stronger than the ruled. Everywhere they pass laws in their own interest, and what is done in their interest they call just."¹³⁷ It is the theory not only of Thrasymachus but of countless others; this was the principle, according to Thucydides, on which Athens justified the existence of her empire. Thus Plato puts it forward as an ordinary view of the current politics of his day, for which he desires to substitute a higher ideal.

Thrasymachus defines Justice as '*the interest of the stronger*.' He supports his definition thus: in every State it is considered unjust to violate the laws: the laws are framed to serve the interests of the government and the government is stronger than its subjects: therefore, universally, Justice is the interest of the stronger, or, '*Might is Right*.' But Socrates proceeds to demolish the argument of Thrasymachus by showing that every artist—and among artists must be included *rulers*—aims at the perfection of his own art. A doctor *qua* doctor seeks the good of

136. Plato: The Republic, Book I, 336 B.

137. Plato Gorgias,

his patient ; a ruler *qua* ruler that of his subjects. Again, a government may often make mistakes and enact laws which are detrimental to its own interest : according to Thrasymachus, justice requires the subject *in every instance* to obey the laws of the land : consequently. it is often just for the subject to do what is prejudicial to the interests of the government. that is, what is *not* for the interest of the stronger. Therefore, justice cannot be defined as the interest of the stronger. To avoid this conclusion, Thrasymachus retracts his previous admission, and explains that, properly speaking, a governor, in so far as he is a governor, cannot be said to make mistakes ; and that, therefore, the government, strictly speaking, *always* legislates to its own advantage, while justice commands the subject to obey. Socrates, in reply, demonstrates that every art, and therefore the art of government among others, consults the interests, not of the artist or superior, but of the subject or inferior. Upon this, Thrasymachus abruptly turns the discourse by declaring that a governor treats his subjects just like the shepherd who fattens his flock for his own private advantage ; and that, really, injustice, practised on an extensive scale, is by far the best and most lucrative course that a man can adopt. But Socrates replies by quoting the rule, laid down by Thrasymachus himself, that, properly speaking, the shepherd, in so far as he is a shepherd, considers simply the good of his flock. How can then the shepherd fatten his flock for his own private advantage ? Further, how can we explain the fact that a governor expects to be paid

for his work, except on the supposition that the benefits of Government accrue, not to the governor, but to the subject? Translated in the language of modern society, we may ask, if the Prime Minister of England or the President of India or the President of the United States are so highly paid, is it not their duty to govern in the interests of the people rather than in their own interest? Plato, in refuting 'Might is Right' of Thrasymachus, is only asserting the democratic principle that *an ideal government is always in the interests of the governed, rather than of the governors.*

The conception of Social Contract was put in modern times in its most brutal and perhaps also its

Hobbes' Theory of
Social Contract

most logical form by Hobbes, who represents the life of man in the State of nature as one of constant warfare and strife. To Hobbes, the natural state of humanity is 'one of a war of all against all,' in which man is to man a wolf, *homo homini lupus*. Life in this state, however, was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short."¹³⁸ The approximate equality of human beings prevents any one from gaining permanently that dominance over others at which each one naturally aims; hence, all become eventually disposed to call a truce to the universal war and establish some mode of *pacific* understanding. This they do by *entering into a contract with one another*, in accordance with which they abandon their more violent claims and set up a government for the maintenance of order to which they are then bound by the terms of the contract to offer their allegiance.

By the establishment of such an authority, man becomes to man a god—*homo homini deus*.¹³⁹

Hobbes, however, conceives of only one contract among the people themselves and not another one,

viz., that between the people and

Political Absolut-
ism of Hobbes

the sovereign. In this theory, no

distinction is made between *the State*

and *the Government*. The sovereign is above the contract and not limited by its terms. His power is absolute. Hobbes' theory is thus known as Political Absolutism.

Spinoza and Locke, however, refused to recognize the absolute surrender to authority which

Spinoza and Locke

Hobbes maintained. In his own

day, Hobbes found his doctrines

rejected by all parties. The Cavaliers would have none of him, though he claimed to be on their side ; for they wanted the King to rule by *divine right*. The opponents of Monarchy would not accept him ; for they mostly wanted to limit the King's power. The saints rejected him ; for they wanted to base their rule on *theological* and not on *secular* grounds. Only in the next generation, when the practical conflict had taken on a new form, did Hobbes' influence make itself plain. It appears very plainly in Locke, the philosopher of the English Revolution of 1688, though Locke does not admit it. Rather, he avows himself a follower of Hooker, the famous divine of the 16th century. He sets out, indeed, to limit the authority of governments and to confine them mainly to the duty of protecting the liberty and property

139. Mackenzie . *Outlines of Social Philosophy*.

of the subjects. He recognizes that society is natural to man and rests his case on a quite different psychology from that of Hobbes. And he derives the principle of politics from the laws of God and Nature and not, like Hobbes, from an act of human reason, which removes Man from the sphere and state of Nature. But all the same, Locke owes a great deal to Hobbes; his theory of the Social Contract could never have been formulated, as it was, without Hobbes' theory to serve as a foundation

The state of Nature, as depicted by Locke, is "a state of peace, good-will, mutual assistance and preservation."¹⁴⁰ But when, in course

The Social Contract of Locke

of time, people began to interfere with one another and create trouble, they agreed to set up a civil society. Locke postulates *two* contracts, one to set up a civil society and another to form a government. If the government, therefore, is overthrown, it does not mean anarchy, as with Hobbes. *Locke distinguishes, while Hobbes did not, between society and the government.* Society is, indeed, based on a contract among men and sustained by their continuous consent to its being. In Hobbes the people set up a sovereign once and for all and, in doing so, transferred and alienated to him and his successors all their power for ever more. The contractual act was the setting up of the government. In Locke, this theory changes its content. "The people do not for ever alienate their rights. They remain always sovereign with perpetual power to recall and abolish the govern-

ment they have established, if it at any time prove false to its trust. And as sovereignty remains in them, absolute and unlimited, the power of government can be limited as much as you please, short of destroying its validity altogether."¹⁴¹ Thus, the sovereign, who is a party to the social contract and is bound by its terms, becomes a "limited" monarch. Hobbes' Absolutism serves as the framework for Locke's very different theory of "*limited and constitutional government*," as the defender of property rights,—a theoretical version of the practical achievement of the English Revolution of 1688. Locke thus remains an advocate of Monarchy, limited by the fundamental rights of the people.

Spinoza applied the absolutist principle of Hobbes on a universal scale. Whereas Hobbes had confined the principle to human beings—and to them only, so long as they remain in the state of Nature,—to Spinoza, "it is a principle which embraces not only man but the whole world of nature, *nay even God himself* ; and he works it out with a consistency which is proof against every scruple, however sacred, and quails before no consequences, however disconcerting."¹⁴² In the *Tractatus Politicus*, Spinoza says, "Every natural object receives from nature, for all purposes of being and working, exactly as much *right* as it has *power* ; that the natural right of nature as a whole, and therefore of every

The Social Contract of Spinoza.

141. G. D. H. Cole : *Theories and Forms of Political Organization*.

142. Vaughan : *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy*, Vol I

individual thing contained in her, extends as far as power ; and consequently that, whatever any single man does, by the laws of his own nature, he does in virtue of *an absolute right of nature*, and that his right over nature extends precisely as far as his power."¹⁴³ Again, "all men are by nature enemies."¹⁴⁴ But the question remains : Is this intended for an endorsement of Leviathan of Hobbes ? Does it mean that to Spinoza, as to Hobbes, the state of nature is a state of war, the war of all against all ? At first sight, we might be tempted to think so. "But a more careful reading," as Vaughan reminds us, "will convince us that the '*war*' of Spinoza, if indeed it can be justly called a war, is at least something very different from the war of Hobbes. To both alike, the state of nature is built upon a volcano. But, whereas to Hobbes, the eruption is constant and deadly, to Spinoza, it is smouldering and intermittent. It is, in fact, *rather the fear of war, than war itself*, which makes the scourge of the state of nature. It is a state in which each man is thrown entirely upon his own resources ; a state in which, so far from looking for aid from his fellow-creatures, he cannot even count, for long together, upon freedom from their actual hostility. But it cannot be fairly described as a state of war. It is rather a state of settled distrust and of the weakness which distrust, together with his own natural imbecility, brings with it."¹⁴⁵

143. Spinoza : *Tractatus Politicus*, ii, 2-4.

144. *Ibid.*, ii, 140.

145. Vaughan : *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy*, Vol. I,

It is thus clear that not only is Spinoza's state of nature a very different thing from that of Hobbes,

but also that the *motives* on which
Difference between
Spinoza and Hobbes, man quitted it are to him very
 different from those demanded by
 the argument of Hobbes. The sole motive which induces man to enter the civil state, according to the English philosopher, is terror, the sense that any condition, however miserable, must be less odious than that to which he is naturally born. "To Spinoza, the war of the natural state is *potential* rather than *actual*, it is the fear, rather than the taste of it—the mistrust and suspicion, together with the sense of insecurity and weakness which these naturally breed—that weigh upon men's minds."¹⁴⁶ Fear, in Spinoza, is no longer the sole motive which leads men to the civil state. The points on which Spinoza lays by far the greater stress are *the insufficiency of the individual*, when left to himself, to provide for anything more than the bare necessities of life, and *the desire to escape from the 'almost brutish existence,'* from the intellectual and moral vacuity, to which he was condemned in the state of nature.

Finally, it is clear that the two kinds of society resulting from motives so different as those described above, can have nothing in common. "The *negative* motive which Hobbes assigns for men's flight from the state of nature was bound to reflect itself," as Vaughan rightly says, "and does in fact reflect itself but too faithfully, in the character of

The 'positive'
motives in Spinoza.

the bond which clamps them together in the civil state. It was terror, terror of each other, that drove them together. It is terror, terror of the sword of the despot, which alone prevents them from flying instantly apart."¹⁴⁷ The *positive* motives of Spinoza—not a blind flight from danger and misery, but a dim craving for betterment, intellectual and moral as well as physical—necessarily give rise to a very different kind of state: a state in which the 'multitude' are in a position to make bargains or 'contracts' with their rulers, a power contemptuously denied to them by Hobbes; a state of which it is the first condition that *all shall freely resolve to be 'guided by one will'*; a state of which the ideal is—so Spinoza expressly assures us—that the service of all shall be actively enlisted in the attainment of one common purpose, that they shall live *not as slaves but as freemen*, and be bound together *not by fear but by hope*. "The 'city' of Hobbes is at best no more than *an aggregate, a mere herd*. That of Spinoza, at least in ideal, is *a living organism, a corporate body animated by one will, a community, every member of which contributes, according to his capacity, to the common good*."¹⁴⁸

The state of nature for Rousseau was a state of idyllic simplicity. It was an earthly paradise in which happiness, innocence and the joys of unrestricted freedom abound and equality reigns. But such a state of things does

The germs of Organic
Theory in Spinoza

Rousseau.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

not last long ; with the advent o civilization many evils of inequality, etc., creep in and make the establishment of a civil society by contract a necessity. The parties to the contract are the people themselves, in their different capacities. The people in their *personal* capacity make the bargain with the people in their *corporate* capacity. Rousseau does not, however, transfer sovereignty to a ruler or a body of rulers, but maintains the sovereignty of the *General Will*. He is thus a philosopher of "*the government by the people*" as distinguished from the *Political Absolutism of Hobbes* or the *Limited Monarchy of Locke*. He takes from Hobbes the idea of Sover-

eignty as indivisible and unlimited,

Germ of Demo-
cracy.

and as arising in society at the moment when the Social Contract

is made. From Locke, he takes the distinction between Sovereign and Government, which reserves supreme power for the whole people as sovereign and makes the government merely a derivative authority, always subject to the sovereign people's will. But unlike Locke, Rousseau seeks to make his sovereign active in carrying on the work of society and not merely passive and acquiescent in the work of government. Thus, in Rousseau's hands the theory becomes *fundamentally democratic* and the claim is made for the first time that the *people as a whole shall rule in fact as well as in name*. But he does not agree that the sovereign people can in any respect alienate or delegate its rights. Himself a citizen of Geneva, Rousseau thus brings us back to the City-state as the only kind of society in which the terms

of the Social Contract can be carried really into effect.

This theory of Rousseau is open to serious criticism. It is historically inaccurate, for there is no evidence of any such event in the past—when people in a primitive state met and deliberately came

Criticism of Rousseau's Theory

to an agreement to form a political organization. It is psychologically inaccurate, for it assumes too much of *exclusiveness* on the part of the primitive people. Then there are the practical difficulties, *e.g.*, the validity of the original contract in the absence of any state-sanction behind it. However, it had an important historical function to perform in the popular movements of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the words of an Indian author, Professor Damle of Poona, "it supplied a philosophical basis for democracy and emphasized the importance of the Individual. It gave a theoretical impetus to the French revolution by pointing out the tyrannies of Society and the State."¹⁴⁹

The Evolutionary theory maintains that the State is a very complex phenomenon, and various factors have contributed to its make-up. It is very difficult to ascertain them all and to know

Evolutionary Theory.

their nature precisely. We may, however, enumerate *three* of the important factors which have contributed to the rise and growth of the State. The first among these is *Kinship*, the bond that held the people together in primitive times. Blood-relation-

149. Damle. *Civics for Beginners*,

ship was effective not only in holding the family together but also in knitting the people into clans and tribes. The tribal life thus came to be organized almost on the model of the family, consolidating itself internally and attempting to extend its sway over other groups under the leadership of a chief. The second important factor is *Religion*. The early social groups lived in a generally diffused religious atmosphere. By teaching obedience, religion helped the consolidation of the authority of the ruler over the ruled. The third important factor is *Political Consciousness*, arising from the fundamental needs of life for protection and order. For the satisfaction of these needs, the authority of the State is accepted ungrudgingly. Thus the modern State on this view is the product of a long historical development in which several factors were involved.¹⁵⁰

In the philosophy of Kant, the famous German philosopher, although he was much influenced by

The Organic Theory Rousseau, the theory of a Social Contract is abandoned. The allegorical implication of the social contract theory was that outside the political context men have *equal rights* to life and liberty, but without any concurrent duties to recognize these rights in others, that membership of a State implies a tacit compact by which one's original rights are transferred to the State in exchange for security and the other blessings that political life bestows, that because these blessings are more valuable than the empty unenforceable rights that would have existed

150. Ibid, pp. 96-97.

in a state of nature, a man must really *will that the State should exist as sovereign power*. Kant dispenses with the contract theory, because even in its allegorical interpretation it implies the possibility of a society in which men have *rights without duties*, and this possibility Kant denies. *Such rights as freedom and equality accrue to an individual from his membership in the body politic*; they have no status outside it ('prior to its formation,' in the language of the social contract doctrine). Conversely, their status within the body politic is guaranteed.

"The law-giving power can belong only to the united will of the people. For since this power is the source of all right, it cannot through its law in any way do wrong to anyone Thus the concordant and united will of all individuals can be the universally united legislative will of the nation only so far as each one makes for all, and all for each, the very same decision. The members of such a society, *i.e.*, of a State, who are united with respect to law-making, are called citizens, and the rightful attributes, inseparable from the existence of each citizen in his proper capacity, are :—firstly, *Political Freedom*, by which he obeys no law save that to which he has given his consent ; secondly, *Civil Equality*, by which he recognizes no one in the nation as his superior, unless one whom he may as lawfully hold morally obligated as the other him ; thirdly, the attribute of civil autonomy, by which he owes his existence and maintenance not to the caprice of anyone else in the nation, but

The Political Doc-
trine of Kant

solely to his own rights and powers as a member of the common weal ; and as a corollary of this last attribute, *Civil Personality*, by which he may be represented by no one else in political transaction."¹⁵¹

The positive relation between political freedom and political submission is affirmed even more strikingly by Hegel. The most fundamental duty that the rational individual must recognize is, in Hegel's theory, to the State. Hegel conceives *the State as a living organism* from which no part can be separated without death to that part. An individual finds full satisfaction of his real self only in fulfilling his civic duties. As he fails in these, and thus moves outside the pale of the State, he loses "the consciousness and self-respect implied in his being a member of the whole ;" and to just that extent he loses *individuality*. An individual without any political relations at all is a mere abstraction of discourse, like a colourless surface, or a span of time without events. "Such also is the mere *ideality of all individual occupations, functions and corporations*, great as may be their impulse *to subsist and do for themselves*. It is as in the organism, where the stomach assumes independence, and yet is at the same time superseded and sacrificed by becoming a member of one whole."¹⁵²

The State, according to Hegel, is embodied Morality. It is the ethical spirit which has clarified

151. Kant : Elements of Political Doctrine.

152. Hegel · The Philosophy of Right (Rechtsphilosophie).

Morality embodied
in the State.

itself and has taken substantial shape as Will, a Will which is manifest before the world, which is self-conscious and knows its purposes and carries through that which it knows to the extent of its knowledge. Custom and Morality are the outward and visible form of the inner essence of the State; the self-consciousness of the individual citizen, his knowledge and activity, are the outward and visible form of the indirect existence of the State. The self-consciousness of the individual finds the substance of its freedom in the attitude of the citizen, which is the essence, purpose and achievement of its self-consciousness.

The State is Mind or Reason *per se*. In the State freedom attains to the maximum of its rights; but at the same time, the State, being an end in itself, is provided with

Hegel's Political
Absolutism.

the maximum of rights over against the individual citizens, whose highest duty it is to be members of the State. Thus, political obligation becomes morally binding upon the citizens. This phase of the Hegelian doctrine identifies man's higher self with the relations into which he enters by virtue of membership in the existing State, and leads to an extreme form of *Political Absolutism*, providing a philosophical basis for the most reactionary type of *Fascism*. In opposition to this, it may be pointed out that there are other types of social relation than those centred in the State, through which an individual's rational self may find expression. Probably the rational self finds social expression most satis-

factorily when the existing State is one to which it can freely and honestly pronounce allegiance; but all too often existing States are not of this kind, and when a State is seen to be palpably unjust, the most valid expression of one's consciously social self may be to challenge it.

The general theory of the State, as developed by Marx and Engels, does away with the idea of the "eternity" of this institution, its

The Marxian view
of the State.

obligatory character for every form of human community, its universality and "extra-historical" nature. *With Marx and Engels, the State is above all an historical category.* It is historical in a double sense. In the *first* place, the State only arises in accordance with definite social and historical conditions, together with the rise of private property and the division of society into classes. "*It 'dies out' together with the disappearance of classes.*"¹⁵³ So it has its historical beginning and its historical end. Its existence does not coincide with the existence of society as such. It is not an indispensable attribute. In the *second* place, it is also historical in the sense that it really only exists in its concrete historical form of "an adequate, historical-concrete, social-economic formation. Consequently, just as in the sphere of economic categories, means of production only become capital under definite conditions, under a definite historic form, in exactly the same way society appears in a State form only under definite conditions. "The State, then, is by no means a power forced on society

153. Karl Marx · Das Kapital,

from outside ; *neither is it the realization of the ethical idea, the image and the realization of Reason, as Hegel maintains.* It is simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a

Historical view of
the State.

useless struggle, a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order.' And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and more and more divorced from it, is the State."¹⁵⁴

Thus the State is the product of the class division of society. Being the product of the development

Lenin on the State.

of society as a whole, it is also a completely class organization. Functioning as a force which "moderates" the conflicts of classes, it is far from being "neutral." It moderates but is far from reconciling. It moderates by depriving the enslaved and exploited of the means and weapons of battle, by "stupefying" them with a number of ideological influences, by preserving the "order" which is the condition of the process of exploitation. *The very existence of the State, according to Marx, is an expression of the complete irreconcilability of classes.* Consequently, at the basis

154. F. Engels : *Origin of the Family*, pp. 215-16.

of the rise of the State lies the process of the formation of classes. "The process of the formation of classes means, however, the conversion of the process of production and reproduction into the process of

The Economic foundation of the State.

production and reproduction of the surplus product alienated by the ruling class." This is the economic foundation for the appearance and consequent functioning of the State. The economic conditions of production, which are simultaneously the process of exploitation, need "order," *i. e.*, an objective, forcible guarantee. Therefore, economic exploitation is supplemented by political oppression. The category of oppression, corresponding to the category of exploitation, presupposes a relation between the social subject of oppression (*i. e.*, exploitation) and its object. In such a case, the whole of society is an exploiting society. "*The State is an utterly class machine of oppression, for it is the dominant class constituted as State power.*" So therefore here there can be no question of social "solidarity," of a really "super-class" force, of the representative of the "general" interest, "general" will of the so-called "whole."¹⁵⁵

We may sum up the Marxian view in the following words of Engels: "The State, therefore, has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies which have managed without it, which had no notion of the State or State power. At a definite stage of economic development, which necessarily involved the cleavage of society into classes, the

155. Bukharin · Marxism and Modern Thought (Trans. Ralph Fox).

State became a necessity because of this cleavage. We are now rapidly approaching a State in the development of production at which the existence of these classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive hindrance to production. They will fall as inevitably as they once arose. The State inevitably falls with them. The society which organizes production anew on the basis of free and equal association of the producers will put the whole State machinery where it will then belong—into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze axe.”¹⁵⁶

156. Engels: *Origin of the Family*, Chapter IX.

CHAPTER VIII

CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY

The social and political doctrine of Representative Democracy is a "tradition of ideas rather than a fully coherent system," according to a contemporary writer. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." But democracy is not merely a form of government. In its wider meaning, it stands for a particular *social order*. It implies recognition of the intrinsic value of the individual and a faith in the common man. It believes that the degradation of human personality, through such causes as ignorance and poverty, is a measure of our failure to apply the democratic principle in practical life. Its central principles are *first*, that a society must not be so unified as to abolish vital and valuable differences; *secondly*, that it must not be so extravagantly diversified as to make an intelligently co-ordinated and civilized social life impossible; and *thirdly*, that the imposition of a universal plan of life on a society is at once stupid and immoral.

There are two main types of argument in support of democracy. The *first* is based on the doctrine of equal rights, from which is deduced the rightness of an equal distribution of political power. The *second* argument for democracy is pragmatic. Democracy

should be preserved not only because individuals have equal rights, but because it offers individuals large opportunities for the development of more inclusive social interests. Further, it is to the State's interest not to ignore any of its members who, even potentially, may have ideas to contribute, derived from their own particular way of life and manner of experience. The *first* argument itself is ambiguous. The doctrine of equal rights

The Doctrine of
equal rights

may mean several things. It may mean that certain specific inequalities, such as distinctions in wealth, social status, political rank, etc., are artificial products of society. Or it may go further, as do certain radical behaviourists and communists, declaring that men are actually born equal in all (or all important) respects and that differences of ability and achievement are not native but acquired by the individual, perhaps very early in his career. Hobbes seems to waver ambiguously towards this doctrine, although he would probably not accept the extreme form of it propounded by modern behaviourists. Finally, there is the normative meaning of rights, as expressed, for example, in the declaration, "That all men, when they form a social pact, are equal in rights, and that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive public emoluments or privileges from the community."¹⁵⁷ The same idea is expressed more pointedly in Locke's dictum that children are born not *in* full equality but *to* it. The aspect of the normative meaning that is essential to democracy is equality of

157. The Connecticut Bill of Rights (1813).

political rights,—that is, of the right to vote, to hold certain offices, to sue in courts, and the like. Optimists sometimes suppose that equality in these respects is a sufficient guarantee against too great an inequality in the distribution of goods.

No democracy, as a matter of course, can be pure. It is impossible in a State of any size, that the entire body of people should be consulted on every decision that confronts the commonwealth.

Dangers of representation in Democracy.

Democracies are commonly '*representative*' rather than direct, and in general, the greater the number and diversity of people composing the democracy, the more clearly impossible it is that they should have a direct voice in its affairs. In a modern State, any considerable degree of accord is usually either the result of propaganda or the expression of mob emotions. "In real life, no one," says Walter Lippmann, "acts on the theory that he can have a public opinion on every public question, though this fact is often concealed, where a person thinks there is no public question because he has no public opinion."¹⁵⁸ For a democracy to have a stable character, its affairs must be carried on by representation, *i. e.*, by delegation of governmental powers to a small number of citizens elected by the rest. But such delegation has its dangers. The electorate, besides having its vote restricted to candidates that were not of its own choosing, is too readily compelled to vote on the basis of campaign propaganda, the candidate's personality, and similar irrelevant

158 Walter Lippmann · Public Opinion.

factors. Again, though care is taken to elect a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of the country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to be sacrificed to temporary or partial considerations, the conditions of public life tend to confine and often to nullify these virtues. Political diplomacy, economic pressure and international rivalries take a subtle form in modern times, thus leading to situations where representation ceases to be truly representative.

The strength of democracy lies in its emphasis on the principles of *liberty* and *equality*. It recognizes the right of every individual to be left free to develop his personality.

Strength of Democracy.

The citizen is free to decide what is best for himself, and he is given full opportunity to serve the State by his considered judgment on public questions. Liberty, to be real, needs to be supplemented by equality. The right to the pursuit of happiness and a share in government should be available equally to all persons. *Democracy implies a social order in which no man or group of men will exploit the weakness of others.* In the context of the State, the democratic principle takes the form of popular sovereignty. It means that *the supreme authority of the State is vested in the last resort in the people.* Citizens in a democratic State are thus both rulers and ruled. Democracy, thus, supplies the most congenial atmosphere for the development of the spirit of citizenship.

In actual life and practice, however, we find

endless misuses and perversions of the word "democracy." Indeed, the common individual is asked to fight, endure all kinds of hardships, and die for democracy; and it is but natural if he asked for some clear definition of what he is fighting for. Mr. H. G. Wells suggests the following definition: "Democracy means the subordination of the State to the ends and welfare of the common individual. Democracy demands the protection of the individual life from the State. It is the denial of the right of the State organization to interfere in the life of the common individual except for the common convenience and with the common consent. But when we attempt to bring such idealistic definitions into effective contact with the realities of life, we find that there is no such thing as absolute freedom or unrestrained democracy. Limitless freedom, anarchy, would be a world of chaotic conduct, ruled only by impulse, a jungle life. All freedom in any society is conditional; it is a compromise; it implies 'rules of the game,' that is to say, *law*. A detailed, comprehensive, agreed-upon, accessible and understandable system of laws, which are really rules for behaviour in predigested situations, is a necessary preliminary condition for a modern democracy. Our modern democratic community would frustrate its own declared aims without a complete, detailed, *legal framework* enforced by a judiciary and a police acting strictly under the law."¹⁵⁹

The contrast between democracy and the forms

159 H. G. Wells. *The Outlook for Homo Sapiens*.

of community with which it is generally contrasted lies essentially in this *reliance upon law*. Until the laws are altered they must be respected by all, small or great, in the community. *The*

Reliance upon
Law

President or the Premier is as much bound by the law as the most humble

citizen. On the other hand, the dictatorships, and undemocratic social organizations generally, subject a large part of the common man's activities to "uncovenanted restrictions, interference and compulsion." Most existing dictatorships, indeed, claim a sort of legality based upon some forced plebiscite, some snatched election. Again, we find that the consent of the governed in a democracy can never be a finally silenced and irrevocable consent. It must be a "continuing consent." It must be subject to sustained revision and renewal. "From the point of view of democracy, all absolutisms are illegal, and resistance to their commands is as justifiable as resistance to any less general "hold-up" or act of violence."¹⁶⁰

This fundamental "*legalism*" of democracy has been and is a deterrent to swift collective action, and human history is full of special emergencies, recurrent crises, like flood, fire, pestilence, earthquake, war, which give rise to the need for swift action. Especially in *war*, men have had to relinquish their liberty of individual action more or less completely in favour of a High Command of some sort with unqualified immediate powers. The "*gradualism*"

Legalism in Demo-
cracy.

of legal and deliberative government under democratic conditions fails during such periods of crisis. At the end of such a period, however, a vigilant democracy would demand the resumption of power by the community. A recent example of such vigilance, exercised by a modern democratic society, was the dramatic exit of Churchill from the leadership of the English nation, within a few weeks of the cessation of hostilities in Europe. The Labour party in England, declared by the elections to be the true representatives of the community, assumed power immediately.¹⁶¹ The question is, indeed, being seriously asked nowadays, whether modern democratic government should not be able to devise some suitable machinery to deal with such recurrent crises, with an efficiency and a toughness far beyond that of a system subjected to the freaks and inspirations of a single individual. As a matter of fact, modern crises have become very elaborate affairs, and are less and less controllable by single individuals. A modern democracy will have to develop a class of competent public servants, with a "co-operative morale and a sense of public criticism." The vast communities of today must work with the distinctive freedom and the conscious, individual co-operation of a team of football players, and they must be subjected to the continual criticism of an enlightened public opinion, with unlimited freedom of expression and with an ultimate, if deferred, right of intervention.

Most popular definitions of democracy involve

161. The reference here is to the General Election in England in 1945 after the end of the world war

some reference to "that magnificent outbreak of the common sense of mankind, the first French Revolution. That remains still a cardinal event in the history of human liberation. It was not the beginning of liberation but it was its most outstanding assertion."¹⁶² The democracies

Evolution of the
Democratic Idea. of England and America are plainly based on that French initiative.

And since in those days, titles and privileges were the most conspicuous infringements of men's liberties, democracy from the outset would have none of them; it was *equalitarian* without qualification. "It was republican, it denied and repudiated any form of class rule whatever—and wherever it is still in health, it remains republican and equalitarian."¹⁶³

But conditions in eighteenth-century France were quite different from conditions in the world today.

Equalitarianism in
Democracy. The chief offence against human liberty at that time was *class privilege*. For many people in those

days, the possession of private property was a means of independence; freedom of ownership seemed a reasonable provision for democratic liberty. It was realized by a very few persons that the free play of proprietorship could, in its turn, give rise to new types of "abuses," only another form of serfdom. Political equality by itself proved in practice to be no equality at all. Thus, when we ask the meaning of democracy today, we find a definite cleavage from this point onwards in the replies to the question,

162. Ibid.

163. Ibid.

“What is democracy?” It is now generally agreed on all hands that collective economic controls, “Industrial Democracy,” as Beatrice Webb first called it, constitute a necessary completion of the

Socialism in Democracy.

democratic proposition. A dwindling minority still clings to the private profit system as the logical method of the sturdy individualism of the revolution. But, as we have seen above, the profit motive is not the only incentive to effort.¹⁶⁴ The general implication of modern democracy is that unrestrained economic advantage can be an even graver infringement of human liberty than privilege. “Modern democracy is not only legalism and equalitarianism; it is socialism; it sets its face against all abuse of the advantages of ownership.”¹⁶⁵

Thus we see that the economic pressure of our “business civilization” is gradually making mere

Our business civilization and Democracy

political democracy more and more futile and even self-contradictory. Modern society is definitely capitalistic; its chief enterprises are motivated by a competitive struggle for profits. We cannot assess the worth of political democracy today, without analyzing the character and working of existing States in their concrete setting. The problems of *Social Philosophy* can be made concretely intelligible only by reference to the actual conditions and manner of operation that prevail in a given society. *The problems of Social Justice and the effective administration*

164. See Chapter VI above

165. H. G. Wells · *The Outlook for Homo Sapiens*

thereof cannot be seriously discussed, without reference to the structure and functioning of the society for which justice is sought. The fact that the existing social order is *capitalistic*, determines certain vital respects in which contemporary social ideals, if they are to stand any chance of becoming effective, must differ from the ideals projected by previous forms of society. *An understanding of the nature of Capitalism is therefore requisite to a serious discussion of Social Philosophy today.*¹⁶⁶

Capitalism appears to involve four essential characteristics :

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Essential Characteristics of Capitalism. | (1) <i>Competition for profits,</i> |
| | (2) <i>The mechanization of Industry,</i> |
| | (3) <i>The purchase and exploitation of human labour-power, and</i> |

(4) *Corporate, absentee ownership.*¹⁶⁷ Let us deal with each of these points briefly and examine their relation to modern democracy in practice.

Competition is not in itself peculiar to Capitalism, nor to civilization, nor to the human species.

Struggle and rivalry in one form or another are found wherever there is life. Capitalist competition, however, is a struggle for profits, and consequently for whatever conduces to greater profits, *e.g.*, cheap raw materials, cheap labour, financial loans, and large markets. In the course of this competitive process and indeed as a necessary part of it, industry is carried on ; but the competition is waged in terms not of producing more and better products but for

166. See Chapter VI above : The Significance of Capitalism.

167. Wheelright : A Critical Introduction to Modern Ethics

the sake of profits. Thus quality is sacrificed for the sake of profits. As against this, we may conceive of '*productive competition*,' competition between artists and craftsmen, for example, who would care more about the quality of what they produce than about the accruing profits. For business enterprises today, the policy of producing more and better products is secondary and incidental to their *profit-making aim*; when greater profits are promised by a curtailment of production or by a deterioration of the product, the industrial policy is usually governed accordingly.

Capitalism involves not only competition for profits but competition by means of increasingly mechanized industrial processes.

II. Mechanization of Industry

Industrial mechanization shows itself principally in two ways: in specialization of functions and in standardization of products. Primitive societies develop little specialization. As societies become more civilized, wants are increased and in order to supply them, industry becomes gradually specialized. Specialization in modern industry has gone to such an extent as to reduce the artisan's work to mere drudgery. A present-day shoe factory, for instance, contains probably no one individual who, if left to himself, could make an entire shoe. Specialization is still more striking and boring in the manufacture of more mechanical products like the automobile, where an individual worker may be restricted to drilling uniform holes in millions of uniform plates as they are passed up the assemblage line. Specialization of function both requires and makes possible a

greater uniformity in the product. This standardization is possible by the principle of the *transfer of skill from the worker to the machine*. Such standardization and precision as are needed in modern industry could not be achieved by human hands: the area of variation of human effort is too wide. The accuracy of work no longer depends on the skill of the operator but on the accuracy of his tools. Sometimes a transfer not only of skill but of thought or intelligence is also made from the worker to the machine, leaving the former to perform his mechanical work without any expense of intelligence or mental labour. This tends to reduce the living personality to a dead machine.

A third aspect of capitalism, which according to the theory of Karl Marx is the most distinctive of all, is summed up in the Marxian word '*exploitation*.' When a capitalist promoter hires some workers, he is considered by Marx to have purchased his employees' 'labour-power.' By labour-power Marx means the total amount of physical effort that an employee is capable of putting forth. In return for their labour-power, the capitalist pays his employees wages, and the wages tend to reach the lowest level at which there are workers to be found: in the long run, apart from such amelioration as may be effected by trade unions and strikes, this level tends to coincide with the level of bare subsistence. The value of what the worker produces is, however, determined not by the amount of labour-power he puts forth, but depends on various

III Exploitation of
human labour-
power.

factors, partly determined by the efficiency of the machine that he operates and the efficiency with which his factory is managed, partly determined by the extent to which society has need of his product. The price differs from the value of a product, depending not only on the extent to which there is a social need of it and on the extent to which this need is supplied from other sources, but on a complicated set of market factors, one of the most important of which is the "price-pegging" done by monopolistic combines. Since the wages of labour are determined by the level of bare subsistence, and since the price of a commodity normally rises much above the cost of producing labour and of raw materials, a *Surplus Value* is created. This surplus value becomes the property of the capitalists *i.e.*, directors, shareholders, bankers, etc., who start the enterprise and take the risk.

The process by which *Surplus Value* is created is considered by Marxists to be an 'exploitation' of the

Marxian theory of
Surplus Value.

workers, because of the Marxian postulate that nothing which the capitalist does produces any value, and that therefore the value that remains, as a surplus over the cost of materials and the cost of labour, must have been created by wage-earners and should rightfully belong to them. This aspect of Marx's doctrine offers a clue to the most serious of his attacks on Capitalism, and it is therefore of some importance that it should be rightly understood. Marx evidently means that the capitalist, *qua* capitalist, is not a creator of values but merely a profiteer,

receiving whatever surplus values are created by whatever means; and that, so far as a particular individual is instrumental in creating values, even though he may do so by the work of managing or of merchandising, he ought to receive wages (not profits) commensurate with the values he creates. The fact that the same individual can be, and frequently is, both a capitalist receiving interest on his investments and also a salaried worker, complicates but does not invalidate the issue. Of course, if everybody were capitalist and salaried worker at the same time and to the same extent, the distinction would be of no practical importance, for everyone would then be exploiter and exploited to an equal degree. Such, however, is not the situation that exists. There is, in every highly industrialized country today, a class of individuals whose incomes are wholly or predominantly dependent on profits from investments, and another class whose incomes are in the form of wages. The formation of these two classes and the exploitation by the one of the other, is, in Marx's view, essential to the existence of capitalism: hence his corollary, that the resultant inequalities can be removed only by bringing capitalist methods to an end.

Corporate Ownership is a fourth essential attribute of Capitalism. In the normal form of capitalist enterprise, the owner, *i.e.*, the legally rightful receiver of the created surplus values, is not one individual, nor a few acquainted individuals, but a large number of individuals, having, as a rule, no interest

IV. Corporate,
Absentee Owner-
ship.

in the enterprise except to demand that it be run in such a way as to yield the largest financial return on their investment. This fact is of great importance as indicating the entirely *impersonal* nature of capitalism; where capitalism is fully developed it becomes completely dehumanized, the reason for which is easy to see. When a single employer owns and manages a business, his personal character is likely to make some difference as to his mode of handling it and of dealing with his employees. When the ownership and management are in the hands of a small group of active partners, the conduct of the business is likely to become more impersonal, although it is still possible for the characters of the several partners to be reflected to some extent in their business practice. But in the typical large-scale business enterprise of today, the personal characters of the individuals who own and manage have little or no causal relation to the business practices of the firm. The manager who comes in contact with the employees is himself a salaried employee: should he on his own initiative altruistically reduce the working hours of his subordinates or increase their wages in such a way as to lessen the profits of the firm, he would probably be removed from his position. The owners, for their part, are a board of business directors (not industrial directors) and, in a secondary sense, a large number of scattered shareholders. None of these owners normally knows anything about the actual manner of conducting the industry from which his profits are derived. Each requires only that the

profits be as large as possible. Problems of industrial technique are left to salaried technicians. If largest profits are created best by industrial practices unfavourable to the worker or consumer, the possibility of effective protest is minimized by the greatness of the 'economic distance' between those who

receive their income from ownership of shares in the corporation and those who control the industrial details.

Industry versus Business

Thus we find that, in modern capitalist society, industry and business tend to run along separate channels. Some industry is a necessary condition of any human life whatever, whereas business is a secondary form of operation and its ultimate importance for human life and happiness can be significantly questioned. Robinson Crusoe on his island, for example, carried on various types of industry but no business whatever. Thus the special development that business has taken in modern times raises a query for the student of Social Philosophy, viz., *How far and in what specific ways Capitalism is of benefit or hindrance to industry, and how far the modern way of business is conducive to human health and happiness?*

We have so far seen the difficulties arising in the actual working of the democratic ideal on account

of its alliance with capitalism : we have next to turn to another set of difficulties arising out of its alliance

Democracy and Nationalism

with Nationalism. *Democracy, we have seen, is Socialism.* Political equality, with the inequities of modern capitalist society, proves in practice to be no equality

at all. The political freedom of the slum-dweller, the vote, is a mockery and sham; he is not really free to vote as he should like, his vote can be easily purchased. But by a natural extension of the equalitarianism of democracy, as the problem of world-law becomes urgent, *democracy becomes cosmopolitan*. Almost tacitly and unconsciously, democracy has accepted and assimilated the necessity that law must be world-law and equally protective of every individual human being. So far as cosmopolitanism goes, modern democracy reverts to far older revolts of human common-sense against racial, national and class distinctions. Cosmopolitanism, universal brotherhood, has indeed been appearing and re-appearing in human thought for the past two thousand years and more, ever since the rise of Buddhism. *Internationalism*, the disappearance of the oppression of one nation by another, the end of the struggle between nations, the emergence of a brotherhood of all mankind, is an important part of all *Utopian socialism*. Socialism, to its votaries, is not primarily an affair of economics. Economics in socialism are really only regarded as means to an end. The socialist hopes that socialism will bring about a society without inequality, oppression, war and violence, he expects the advent of socialism to mark a fundamental change in human relations. *He regards it as a moral and religious affair as much as an economic one*. Modern democracy, in spite of its socialist ideals, is faced with the grim realities of the *Nation-state*.

The democracy that found its expression in the

first French Revolution was not only incomplete upon the economic side but also it was very sketchy and indefinite in the matter of education. This was due to the fact that the ideology of the Great Revolution was essentially middle-class in its origin. It sprang from a social stratum already educated and so satisfied with the sufficiency of its general education and so accustomed to a supply of books and pamphlets that it did not realize that there was anything exceptional in the knowledge and freedom of thought it enjoyed. It launched its generous proposition of universal equality indeed, but not only did it fail to realize the need to insure freedom from economic pressure, but also it neglected to organize the education of the community as one whole. The American Revolution, in this respect, with its provision of State universities, seems to have been ahead of the French. Nevertheless, it took the better part of a century for democracy to realize, even to a limited extent, this most vital implication of its demand for *liberty, equality and fraternity*, viz., the free and necessary *universal education of the democratic community* to a common level of understanding and co-operation. Communities in which every mentally normal citizen is educated to a level much above the three R's do not yet exist anywhere in Europe or America. But freedom and equality are incomplete without *freely accessible knowledge* and free and open discussion is a necessary completion of the democratic idea. It is still therefore possible for the equalitarian impulse to be effectively frustrated in

Democracy
Education.

and

practice by deliberate and systematic miseducation and misinformation. The common man and woman know now in general terms what they want, but they still do not know how to state and express their demands. The pity is that ordinarily the common man and woman today resent being told that they are under-educated or wrongly educated; to them education still means "just any old education, and news is what a press run entirely for profit and political and social ends, and (in the British system) a government controlled radio, choose to tell them. It is the education they have grown up to, and so far they have not been awakened to its insufficiency."¹⁶⁷ Thus we find that private enterprise is able to defend its appropriations quite effectively, because it owns the press almost entirely, as well as the news agencies and the distributing trades; it can thus distort values and distract the public from crucial issues in the boldest fashion. There is no counteracting agency or equipment of the public mind in the educational machinery of any modern State. The common schools are essentially conservative institutions, adapting the common man to the social order in which he finds himself preparing him for that state of life to which he has been called, and giving him no reasonable intimation of the great drama of change in which he has to play his part. The whole thing is an organized conspiracy of silence and misleading propaganda. As Aldous Huxley puts it, "At no period of the world's history has organized lying been practised

167. H. G. Wells: *The Outlook for Homo Sapiens*.

so shamelessly or, thanks to modern technology, so efficiently or on so vast a scale as by the political and economic dictators of the present century." The important thing for us to note is that there is not much difference in this matter between the practice of Dictators and the so-called democratic governments. The chief aim of these liars is "the eradication of charitable feelings and behaviour in the sphere of international politics."¹⁶⁸ In face of the essential ignorance of the modern democratic community, the enterprising owner, the profiteer, can keep his grip upon his advantages far more effectively, than he can in the face of a dictator with unqualified powers. He can resist socialization far more effectively.

This fact has led many thinkers to suggest that Dictatorship of some variety is inevitable for the speedy realization of the socialistic scheme of things in the matter of State organization. Against the capitalist's obstructive power, the wilfulness of the dictator is able to operate far more vigorously than the will of the under-educated, ill-informed and suggestible "democracies." Actually we find in recent times that in certain ways the dictatorships have undoubtedly been able to get ahead of the democratic States : they have gone further on the way to socialization. The dictator of the totalitarian State takes the industrial exploiter or the rich man firmly by the collar, and handles wealth with an extraordinary disrespect. Thus dictatorships in

168, Aldous Huxley : *Ends and Means*, p. 7.

recent history have implied "*collectivism*." Dictatorships are forced towards a comprehensive efficiency in the face of the claims of their own supporters. As Wells puts it, "The only effective response to totalitarian collectivism on the part of a freedom-seeking community is a scientifically planned and directed socialism."¹⁶⁹

169. H G Wells: *The Outlook for Homo Sapiens*

CHAPTER IX

ALTERNATIVES TO DEMOCRACY

On account of the difficulties inherent in capitalist Democracy, it has been suggested by some able advocates that the only practical alternative in the modern world is dictatorship. Theoretically, dictatorship means the control over the whole nation by a select few who alone claim to understand and to be able to promote the common good. The select few are loyally devoted to a 'leader' in whose name they act. Every method of persuasion, as well as of force, is employed to make the people submissive. The working of Dictatorship is illustrated in certain recent forms of government : Russian

Two types of Dictatorship.

Communism, Italian *Fascism* and German *Nazism*. We must, however, note at the very outset an outstanding difference between the two classes and types of Dictatorships, sometimes pooled together indiscriminately under the title of Totalitarian States. The Communist Ideology of Soviet Russia is absolutely and diametrically opposed to the Ideology practised by the late supporters and leaders of Nazism and Fascism, Hitler and Mussolini. As a matter of fact, we should find on further examination that, really and truly, there is no resemblance between the two systems beyond the surface similarity of mere *form* ; the content of the government, the

details of the administrative machinery and outlook of both the rulers and the ruled are fundamentally opposed to each other. As a matter of fact, we should hope to find more similarities among the Ideals of Representative Democracy and those of Soviet Communism. This confusion is so widespread in modern socio-political thought that it would be worth our while to dilate a little further on these essential differences between the two leading types of Dictatorships. We may even have to revise the principle of classification ultimately, and to oppose Fascism to two forms of Democratic organization, (1) Capitalist Democracy, and (2) Social Democracy.

It has been said by many that Communism and Fascism are the only practical alternatives in politics,

Communism and
Fascism or "Scylla
and Charybdis"

and that whoever does not support the one in effect supports the other.

Bertrand Russell, in one of his brilliant essays, seems to think that we would be on the horns of a vicious dilemma, if there were no third alternative. He says, "I find myself in opposition to both, and I can no more accept either alternative than, if I had lived in the sixteenth century, I could have been either a Protestant or a Catholic."¹⁷⁰

The Communists maintain that their dictatorship is a matter of expediency in the transitional period,

Communism. its ultimate goal being a classless society. The Russian dictatorship claims to be the true voice of the 'proletariat.' Any

170. Bertrand Russell : In Praise of Idleness, p. 109.

criticism of the Soviet system is condemned as corrupting the mind of the proletariat, and is regarded as being due to moral depravity or to instigation by the capitalists and may be visited by the penalty of death or imprisonment. Bertrand Russell has briefly, but in his characteristic lucid style, set forth his objections to Communism in the Essay mentioned above.

According to Bertrand Russell, *Communism is not democratic*. "What it calls the 'dictatorship of the

Russell on Com-
munism.

proletariat,' is in fact the dictatorship of a small minority, who become an oligarchic governing class. All history shows that government is always conducted in the interests of the governing class, except in so far as it is influenced by fear of losing its power. This is the teaching not only of history, but of Marx. The governing class in a Communist State has even more power than the capitalist class in a democratic State To suppose that it will always act for the general good is mere foolish idealism, and is contrary to Marxian political psychology."¹⁷¹ Another argument of Russell is that Communism restricts liberty, particularly intellectual liberty, more than any other system except Fascism. "The complete unification of both economic and political power produces a terrifying engine of oppression, in which there are no loopholes for exceptions. Under such a system, progress would soon become impossible, since it is the nature of bureaucrats to object to all change except increase in their

171. Ibid, p. 110,

own power. All serious innovation is only rendered possible by some accident enabling unpopular persons to survive. Kepler lived by astrology, Darwin by inherited wealth, Marx, by Engel's "exploitation" of the proletariat of Manchester. Such opportunities of surviving in spite of unpopularity would be impossible under Communism."¹⁷²

There is another argument of some psychological importance, advanced by Russell against Communism. He thinks that there is so much of hate in Marx and in Communism that "Communism can hardly be expected, when victorious, to establish a regime affording no outlet for malevolence." If victory is the result of a fierce and doubtful war, the arguments in favour of oppression are likely to seem to the victors stronger than they really are. "After such a war, the victorious party are not likely to be in the mood for sane reconstruction. Marxists are too apt to forget that war has its own psychology, which is the result of fear, and is independent of the original cause of contention."¹⁷³ Apart from these arguments, Russell's objections to communism are based on broader theoretical difficulties, and specially on his individualistic philosophy. He does not believe in any dialectical necessity in historical change, he sees no reason for the Marxian thesis that the next stage in human development *must* be in some sense a progress; in Economic Theory, he does not believe in the theory of *surplus value* and thinks that "Marx's economics do not

172. Ibid, p. 111.

173. Ibid, pp. 112-113.

form a logically coherent whole, but are built up by the alternate acceptance and rejection of older doctrines," (*e.g.*, Ricardo's theory of rent and Malthus' theory of population) "as may suit his convenience in making out a case against the capitalists."

Russell's objections to Fascism are more fundamental, as we would naturally expect. Indeed, he is in agreement with the ultimate end of the Communists; his disagreement is as to *means* rather than the end. But in the case of the Fascists he makes it quite clear that he dislikes the end as much as the means. According to Russell, the essentials of Fascism are that it is anti-democratic, it is nationalistic, it is capitalistic, and it appeals to those sections of the middle class which suffer most through the development of the socialistic process. Communism, also, according to Russell, is anti-democratic, but only for a time, at least in theory, and as a transitory stage. Moreover, it aims at serving the interests of wage-earners, who are a majority in advanced countries, and are intended by Communists to become the whole population. As against this, Fascism is anti-democratic in a much more fundamental sense: it does not accept the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the right principle in statesmanship, but selects certain individuals, nations, and classes as the best and as alone worthy of consideration. The remainder are to be compelled by force to serve the interests of the few elect.¹⁷⁴

174. *Ibid.*, p. 114,

Both in Germany and in Italy, Fascism arose out of Socialism, by rejecting whatever was anti-

Rise of Fascism.

nationalistic in the orthodox programme. From Socialism it took over two ideas, the idea of economic planning and that of an increase in the power of the State, but the planning, instead of being for the benefit of the whole world, was to be in the interests of the upper and middle class in one country. And it tried to secure these interests not so much by increased efficiency as by increased oppression, both of wage-earners and of unpopular sections of the middle-class itself. Thus "the root-objection to Fascism is its selection of a portion of mankind as alone important. In this respect, it has done much to divert modern governments from the moral ideals of Christianity, from which modern democracy has derived considerable strength." Fascism is thus a return to what was worst in pre-Christian morals, *viz.*, exclusive preoccupation with the interests of the rich and the powerful.

It appears that *Fascism is really the logical extension of Capitalism*. If ever it could succeed, it would do

Fascism and Capitalism.

nothing to cure the evils of Capitalism; on the contrary, it would make them worse. The manual work would be performed by forced labour at subsistence level; the workers would have no political rights, no freedom to choose their place of work and abode, and probably not even a permanent family life. The Nazi method of dealing with the problem of Unemployment showed these tendencies

abundantly and clearly. It is really an inevitable corollary of Capitalism, freed from the control of Democracy. This is the modern substitute for the old forms of slavery or serfdom, which is an inherent part of all Absolutism, Despotism or Dictatorship.

Fortunately for the world, there is no chance of Fascism succeeding permanently, or even for long, as there is no solution in Fascist
 Fascism and War. Ideology for the problem of Economic Nationalism. The most powerful force on the side of the Nazis was heavy industry, and it is now been clearly demonstrated that heavy industry, especially steel and chemicals, organized nationally, is the greatest influence making for war in the present day. If every civilized country had a Fascist government, war would be unavoidable. Thus each fresh victory of Fascism brings war nearer ; and war, when it comes, is likely to sweep away Fascism itself, along with many other existing institutions. All this is obvious to any student of current International Affairs : but the tragedy is that, much as the democratic governments are condemning Fascisms of all variety today, they themselves are not prepared to shed off *the roots of Fascism that are present in all contemporary "Industrial Democracy."* Modern industry, as we have seen, is organized in the main in such a way as to obstruct democracy. The existing system under which the capital-owner or his agent can decide what is to be produced, whether anything is to be produced, and whom he shall employ,—this system is fundamentally undemocratic, not only because it interferes with

free choice by voters, but also because it degrades those so employed, and gives arbitrary powers to a few over the goods and services useful for all. Thus manual work is as demoralizing in the modern democratic State as in a Fascist State, on account of the arbitrary power over production retained by the owners of capital and their agents. Thus, in its economic policy, Fascism is a reinforcement of the traditional system and of the assumptions inherited from slave-civilization. And so far as *political democracy is wedded to heavy industry, run along Nationalist and Capitalist lines, it also is Fascist in germ and is bound to lead to international rivalry and war*, as in the domestic policy, it is equally undemocratic towards manual workers. *The Communist economy*, on the other hand, *is really an extension of the democratic idea and process*, though there is a new technique, a revolutionary method of procedure.

What, then, we are tempted to ask, is the Philosophy of Fascism? Has it any ordered set of beliefs, like Socialism, Communism

**The Philosophy of
Fascism.**

or Liberalism? The answer to this question seems to be an emphatic *No*. As Russell observes, "There is no philosophy of Fascism, but only a psycho-analysis."¹⁷⁵ Fascism seems to be largely and essentially an emotional protest, partly of those members of the middle-class (such as small shopkeepers) who suffer from modern economic developments, partly of certain individualistic capitalists and industrial magnates whose lust of power has grown to ab-

175. Ibid, p. 116.

normal proportions, has in fact become a disease, "megalomania," as Russell rightly calls it. Fascism is clearly irrational, in the sense that it cannot achieve what its supporters desire; probably they know its utter futility, and yet are driven forward by an inner urge on account of serious frustrations, like a hysterical patient of "the compulsion neuroses," or of obsessions. If Fascism could have succeeded at all, the result would have been widespread and untold misery, and a definite set-back to civilization; but its inability to find a solution for the problem of war and its philosophical bankruptcy makes it impossible that it should succeed for more than a short period. But our recent experience of even a brief course of Fascism in three important States, *viz.*, Germany, Italy and Japan, has been so bitter and the memory thereof so fresh that we must go still deeper into the ultimate bases and the "ancestry" of Fascism. Besides, we have seen that there are germs of an incipient Fascism in all capitalist democratic governments; and it is just likely that Fascism may again raise its head in a new shape or form in some new climate, if the roots are not destroyed, and the germ exterminated for good.

It is important to remember, as Russell reminds us, that political events very frequently take their colour from the speculations of an earlier time; there is usually a considerable interval between the formulation of a philosophical doctrine and its translation into practice. "English politics in 1860

**The Ancestry of
Fascism.**

were dominated by the ideas expressed by Adam Smith in 1776; German politics today¹⁷⁶ are a realization of theories set forth by Fichte in 1807; Russian politics since 1917 have embodied the doctrines of the Communist Manifesto, which dates from 1848. To understand the present age, therefore, it is necessary to go back to a considerably earlier time.

The modern revolt against Reason aims at *power*; the modern "Irrationalist" on account of his lust

Lust of power. of power is of necessity involved in Politics. His genealogy among

philosophical writers is Fichte, Carlyle, Mazzini, Nietzsche and Bergson. As opposed to this movement, we have the Benthamites and Socialists. The end which statesmen should pursue, as conceived by almost all the irrationalists out of whom Fascism has grown, is most clearly stated by Nietzsche. In conscious opposition to Christianity as well as to Utilitarians, he rejects Bentham's doctrines as regards both 'happiness' and the 'greatest number.' "Mankind," according to Nietzsche, "is much more of a means than an end . . . mankind is merely the experimental material." The end he proposes is the greatness of exceptional individuals. "The object is to attain that enormous *Energy of Greatness* which can model the man of the future by means of discipline and also by means of the annihilation of millions of the bungled and botched, and which can yet avoid *going to ruin* at the sight of the suffering *created* thereby, the like of which has never been seen before."¹⁷⁷

176. This was written by Bertrand Russell in 1935.

177. Nietzsche: *The Will to Power*, Vol. II, p. 368.

This conception of the end, however much we may dislike it, is very hard to disprove : yet it is irrational, inasmuch as "the cult of the great man" has always implicit in it the assertion : "I am a great man." As opposed to this, reason demands impartiality, equality, and consequently, democracy. The founders of the school of thought out of which Fascism has grown have certain characteristics in common. They seek the good in *Will* rather than in *Feeling* or *Cognition* ; they value *power* more than happiness ; they prefer *Force* to argument, *War* to peace, *Aristocracy* to democracy, *Propaganda* to scientific impartiality. They advocate a Spartan form of austerity, as opposed to the Christian form ; they view austerity as a means of obtaining mastery over others, not as a self-discipline which helps to produce virtue and happiness only in the next world. Popular Darwinism is enlisted in their service, in the form of the doctrine that the struggle for existence is the source of a higher species ; only it is to be rather a struggle between races than one between individuals, such as the apostles of free competition advocated. "Pleasure and knowledge, conceived as ends, appear to them unduly passive. For pleasure they substitute glory, and for knowledge, the pragmatic assertion that what they desire is true. In Fichte, Carlyle, and Mazzini, these doctrines are still enveloped in a mantle of conventional moralistic cant ; in Nietzsche, they first step forth naked and unashamed."¹⁷⁸

173. Bertrand Russell : In Praise of Idleness, p. 91.

The whole philosophy of Fichte develops out of the proposition "I am I," about which he says :

"The Ego posits itself and it is in
Fichte's Meta- consequence of this bare positing
physics by itself; it is both the agent and
the result of the action, the active and that which
is produced by the activity; '*I am*' expresses a deed
(*Thatandlung*). The Ego *is*, because it has posited
itself."¹⁷⁹

The Ego, according to this theory, exists because it *wills* to exist. The non-Ego also exists because the Ego so wills it; but a non-Ego so generated never becomes really external to the Ego which chooses to posit it. Thus, Fichte comes to the conclusion, "*The Universe is Myself*," though he explains that by "I" he means "God." This was the theoretical basis of his Political philosophy. In 1807, Fichte delivered his famous "*Addresses to the German Nation*," in which, for the first time, the complete creed of Nationalism was set out. These Addresses explain that the German is superior to all other moderns, because he alone has a pure

language. The purity of the Ger-
His Political Phi- man language makes the German
losophy. alone capable of profundity; he

concludes that "to have character and to be German undoubtedly mean the same." But if the German nation is to be capable of acting as a whole, there must be a new kind of education, (to preserve the German character from foreign corrupting influences) which will "mould the Germans into a corporate body." The new education must aim at completely destroy-

179. Fichte: *Philosophy of Identity*.

ing "freedom of the will." There is to be universal military service : everybody is to be compelled to fight, not for the material well-being, not for freedom, not in defence of the constitution, but under the impulse and drive of "the devouring flame of *higher patriotism*, which embraces the nation as the vesture of the eternal, for which the noble-minded man joyfully sacrifices himself, and the ignoble man, who only exists for the sake of the other, must likewise sacrifice himself."¹⁸⁰

This doctrine, that the "noble" man is the purpose of humanity, and that the "ignoble" man has no claims on his own account, is of the essence of the Fascist attack on democracy. But there is no objective criterion of "nobility," except success in war : therefore War became the necessary outcome of this creed. Carlyle, whose outlook on life was, in the main, derived from Fichte, added something which has been characteristic of the school ever since : a kind of Socialism and solicitude for the proletariat which is really dislike of Industrialism and of the "Nouveau Riche." It appears that Carlyle deceived even Engels, whose book on the English working class in 1844 mentions him with the highest respect. But when we read his chapter on Democracy in *Past and Present*, we find most of it occupied with praise of William the Conqueror, and he goes on to describe democracy as follows : It

Morals above De-
mocracy.

"means despair of finding any
Heroes to govern you, and content-
ed putting up with the want of

180. Addresses to the German Nation.

them."¹⁸¹ All this would have been subscribed to by Hitler and Mussolini easily. Mazzini was a milder man than Carlyle, from whom he differed as regards the cult of heroes. Not the individual great man, but the nation, was the object of his adoration; he placed Italy highest among the European nations. He believed, however, like Carlyle, that Duty should be placed above Happiness, and thus put Morals above Democracy, saying: "The simple vote of a majority does not constitute sovereignty, if it evidently contradicts the supreme moral precepts . . . the Will of the People is sacred, when it interprets and applies the Moral Law; null and impotent, when it dissociates itself from the Law, and only represents caprice." This was also the opinion of Mussolini.

Only one important element has since been added to the doctrines of this school, namely, the "pseudo-Darwinian belief in race."

The Racial Doctrine.

Fichte had made German superiority a matter of *language*, not of biological heredity. Nietzsche, unlike his modern followers, was not a nationalist or an anti-Semitic; he applies the doctrine only as between different individuals; he wishes the unfit to be prevented from breeding. He hopes, by the methods of the "dog-fancier," to produce a race of Super-men, who shall have all power, and for whose benefit alone the rest of mankind shall exist. But subsequent writers, like Houston, Chamberlain, have extended the doctrine, and have tried to prove that all excellence has

181. Carlyle: Past and Present.

been connected with their own *race*. Chamberlain, for instance, argues at length that Dante was a German and Christ was not a Jew. This whole business of introducing "pseudo-Darwinian jargon" in the racial question is of no scientific value. Whatever the genetic mental differences between races may be, we now know that, in an adult, the effects of *environment* mask those of *heredity*. Even Hitler had to supplement his racial theory by a theory of the individual. "To attempt to judge a person's worth by his race and to declare war on the Marxian axiom, 'One man is like another,' would be folly, unless we were ready to carry it to its logical conclusion."¹⁸²

We may summarize this entire movement, from Fichte onwards, in the words of Bertrand Russell, as "a method of bolstering up self-esteem and lust for power by means of beliefs which have nothing in their favour except that they are flattering. Fichte needed a doctrine which would make him feel superior to Napoleon; Carlyle and Nietzsche had infirmities for which they sought compensation in the world of imagination; British Imperialism of Rudyard Kipling's epoch was due to shame at having lost industrial supremacy;" and the Hitlerite madness of our time was a mantle of myth in which the German ego kept itself warm against the cold blasts of Versailles. "No man thinks sanely when his self-esteem has suffered a mortal wound, and those who deliberately humiliate a nation have only

Irrationalism and
Lust for Power

182. Adolf Hitler : *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle).

themselves to thank, if it becomes a nation of lunatics."¹⁸³ The remarkable psychological insight which is displayed in the above passage by Russell is ample justification for quoting it in full. But when we recall that it was written in the early thirties, viz., about 1933 or 1934, then its almost prophetic warning for the present international politicians seems remarkably appropriate. If the psychological errors of Versailles are repeated at the present critical juncture¹⁸⁴ in the treatment to be meted out to the Japanese and the German nations, then this repression of the national surge is bound to give rise to pathological symptoms in the International Body-Politic. The recent applications of Psycho-analytic theory to the fields of Sociology and Politics leave us in no doubt as to the correctness of Russell's diagnosis of the Fascist disease. Freud himself, who in his old age suffered a great deal at the hands of this "Hitlerite madness," we are told, was contemplating to work out a detailed theory of the psycho-analytic causes of the rise of Nazism in all its grim and sadistic aspects. This shows that at certain periods of history in certain countries, the special circumstances of the time produce a mood to which all sorts of Irrational and even Anti-Rational doctrines make some special appeal, and consequently succeed in attaining popularity. The emphasis on Will, as opposed to Thought and Feeling; glorification of Power; belief in Intuition as opposed to Observation and Experiment; these

183. Bertrand Russell: In Praise of Idleness, p. 99

¹⁸⁴ Written in 1946.

are some of the characteristic doctrines of the modern Irrationalists. The Will to Power of Nietzsche was a philosophy, psychologically adapted to the mental needs of all the discontented elements in a modern industrialized society. Whatever the purpose of the philosophers or the speculative founders of such doctrines may have been, the industrialists and militarists, the admirals and armament firms, very cleverly made use of this philosophy to "weld" the discontented sections into a party of mediaevalist reaction in everything, combined with everything modern in the way of scientific technique. Germany found a most congenial soil for the growth and perfection of this movement. The fear of the Socialists, the Bolsheviks and Pacifists led many people of the middle classes, like the small shopkeepers, to join this movement in a fantastic hope and belief which was really their only refuge from despair. Dazzled by the vision of glory, heroism and self-sacrifice, they became blind to their own serious and genuine interests, and in a blaze of emotion allowed themselves to be used for purposes not their own. This is "the Psycho-pathology of Nazidom," as it caught the mind of the German middle class.¹⁸⁵

185. Bertrand Russell: In Praise of Idleness,

CHAPTER X

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

We are now in a position to ask the question : Is there anything in common between the Nazi philosophy, the psycho-pathology of Nazidom, as Russell calls it, or the Nazi Religion, as H. G. Wells calls it, on the one hand, and the Communist Ideology, on the other ? In dealing with the question of a practical alternative to Capitalist Democracy, in the last chapter, we hoped to find more similarities between the Ideals of Democracy and those of Communism than between the two types of Dictatorships. In spite of the spirited attempt made by Russell to show that there are conclusive objections which, according to him, "apply to Communism and Fascism equally," we must come to the conclusion that ideologically as well as from the point of view of Aims and Ends, there is really nothing in common between the two types of Totalitarian governments, except the mere form. The oft-quoted lines of Pope :

" For forms of government let fools contest ;

Whatever is best administered is best "—

may thus be defended in the context of our argument. A modern writer has said that "an important lesson of History is that the value of a system of government does not depend merely on its form,

but chiefly on its spirit."¹⁸⁶ As Russell himself admits, "the purpose of the Communists is one with which, on the whole, I am in agreement; my disagreement is as to means rather than ends. But in the case of the Fascists I dislike the end as much as the means."¹⁸⁷

Fascism and Communism have really nothing in common

Yet we find that the Individualistic Philosophy of Bertrand Russell does not allow him to deal with Communism fairly and sympathetically. According to him, both Communism and Fascism *equally* are "attempts by a minority to mould a population forcibly in accordance with a preconceived pattern. They regard a population as a man regards the materials out of which he intends to construct a machine: the materials undergo much alteration, but in accordance with his purposes, not with any law of development inherent in them Fascists and Communists, having in their minds a picture of society as a whole, distort individuals so as to make them fit into a pattern; those who cannot be adequately distorted are killed or placed in concentration camps. I do not think an outlook of this sort, which totally ignores the spontaneous impulses of the individual, is *ethically justifiable*, (*Italics* ours) or can, in the long run, be politically successful. It is possible to cut shrubs into the shape of peacocks, and by a similar violence a similar distortion can be inflicted upon human beings. But the shrub remains passive, while the man, whatever the dictator may desire,

186. D. J. Hill: *People's Government* Preface, p. vii

187. Bertrand Russell: *In Praise of Idleness*.

remains active, if not in one sphere then in another The inevitable effects of artificial moulding upon the individual are to produce either cruelty or listlessness, perhaps both in alternation. And from a population with these characteristics, no good thing is to be expected."¹⁸⁸

Let us try to understand the problem from another point of view, the point of view of an acute and powerful idealistic thinker of

H. G. Wells on the calibre of H. G. Wells. Like
Communism

Russell, he is also a Socialist, more Utopian than Individualistic, but vehemently anti-Marxian in his ideology as well as mentality. He is, however, refreshingly honest in confessing his anti-Marxian mentality. He admits that he has "always had a peculiar contempt and dislike for the mind and character of Karl Marx, a contempt and dislike that have deepened with the years." "I have watched," he says, "the tradition of Marxian bad manners and Marxian dogmatism wrapping like a blanket of fog round the minds of two crucial generations. They seemed to me to be lost in the fog. It was difficult for me to think they could be advancing under that fog."¹⁸⁹ In spite of this dislike, which is to be regarded as a purely personal matter, to be eliminated from an objective (scientific or logical) argument, Wells seems to appreciate the efforts of some leading Marxist thinkers of our generation, notably, Professor J. D. Bernal and J. B. S. Haldane. Referring to the latter's Haldane

188. Bertrand Russell : In Praise of Idleness, p. 117.

189. H. G. Wells The Fate of Homo Sapiens, p. 66.

Memorial Lecture, delivered in 1938, he considers it to have been "to my mind, a brilliant yet obstinately perverse overvaluation of the role of Marx (and Engels) in human thought, which may well have made the worthy uncle, whom he was commemorating, turn in his grave. Lord Haldane also professed the Hegelian faith and that was his nephew's justification. This lecture made the most of Marx, I insist, and more also. And then more."¹⁹⁰ Again, writing about *The Social Function of Science* by, "that very considerable writer, Professor J. D. Bernal," Wells admits that he gets at times, "in spite of his very distinct Marxist twang, a curious sense of parallelism and co-operation." And even in Haldane, he finds much he "could subscribe to, except that I reject the Marxian attribution."¹⁹¹

Thus, we find that in spite of the temperamental difficulties of H. G. Wells, he is forced to admit that if we could formulate a liberal, progressive and scientific view of the human outlook, then intelligent men and women, starting from all sorts of different standpoints, will converge upon the same conclusions, and work out towards practically the same pattern,—*the Socialistic pattern*. We must then ask once more the question in a purely objective fashion, Is there something specially sinister in the tenets of Marxism, Bolshevism or Communism, whatever term we may like to use, which is *anti-Socialistic* or frightful to our traditional conceptions of Liberty,

190. H. G. Wells : *The Fate of Homo Sapiens*, p. 66.

191. *Ibid.*

Individual Rights and Moral Justice. *The old anti-thesis between Collectivism and Individualism cannot hold any longer.* We must build towards a new synthesis in our socio-political theory as well as practice, based upon a progressive *economic doctrine* and a sound *Philosophy of History*. Nothing short of such a radical and lucid *Social Philosophy* will avert the impending disaster to our Civilization, such as Wells seems to visualize.

The pessimistic outlook of Russell towards Communism is to be deplored even more than the

Russell on Communism.

Utopianism of Wells. "Preoccupation with machines has produced," says Russell, "the manipulator's fallacy," which consists in treating individuals and societies as if they were inanimate, and manipulators as if they were divine beings. Thus the ultimate psychological argument for democracy, according to Russell, is, that an element of "free growth" and "untrained natural living" is essential if "men are not to become mis-shapen monsters." Communist and Fascist dictatorships are thus *alike undesirable* in his view, and he deplores the tendency to view them as the only alternatives in modern times. Fascism is the formidable and violent retort to Communism, and Russell comes to the conclusion that so long as Socialism is preached in Marxist terms, it will always rouse such powerful antagonism that its success would become highly improbable. But our account has already taken the bull by its horns, *i.e.*, we have tried to show that modern civilization has a way of escape out of the dilemma, as visualized

by Russell. The *Scylla and Charybdis* of Russell are henceforth to be dismissed as creatures of his imagination. Socialist Democracy must be looked upon as *Democracy, freed from the clutches of Capitalism*. From our point of view, Fascism was the result of *Capitalism, freed from the control of Democracy*, Capitalism run amuck, as it were. It is

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Democracy} \\ \text{Capitalism} \end{array} \text{ minus } \begin{array}{l} \text{perhaps true that Marxian com-} \\ \text{munism is dominated by the psy-} \\ \text{chology of proletarian } \textit{revenge}, \text{ at least in its } \textit{first} \\ \textit{emotional protest} \text{ of the down-trodden humanity. But} \\ \text{we would reply to Russell as follows: Your protest} \\ \text{against Communism in the name of individual} \\ \text{liberty is a } \textit{gospel of Bourgeois fear}. \text{ As students of} \\ \text{Psychology, we should avoid the dangers of } \textit{Hate} \text{ and} \\ \textit{Revenge}, \text{ as much as that of } \textit{Fear} \text{ and } \textit{Cowardice}. \\ \text{Nothing good has been achieved by Humanity} \\ \text{through cowardice. A bold and daring venture of} \\ \textit{Faith in the Common Man} \text{ is what is requisite at the} \\ \text{present moment, if mankind is to be saved from the} \\ \text{impending catastrophe, which threatens to ruin the} \\ \text{advance of centuries. As Russell is acknowledged} \\ \text{on all hands to be a daring social and educational} \\ \text{experimenter, it is to be extremely regretted that we} \\ \text{find in him a champion of reaction on this funda-} \\ \text{mental issue. Indeed, as he himself proclaims, he} \\ \text{is as convinced a Socialist as the most ardent} \\ \text{Marxian. What, then, is the confusion which keeps} \\ \text{him at a distance from the latter? What is his} \\ \text{Socialism, in essence and in practical details, we} \\ \text{have then next to enquire, in order to clear up this} \\ \text{last remnant of confusion underlying the contempo-} \end{array}$$

rary socio-political muddle.

Russell regards Socialism primarily as an adjustment to machine production demanded by considerations of common-sense, and calculated to increase the happiness of all members of the human race.

The Socialism of
Bertrand Russell.

He does not regard it as a gospel of proletarian revenge, nor even, primarily, as a means of securing economic justice. His affiliation in moral philosophy is thus to Bentham, Mill and the Utilitarians rather than to Kant, Hegel, Green and the Idealists in general. His definition of Socialism consists of two parts, economic and political. The *economic part* consists in *State ownership* of ultimate economic power, which involves, as a minimum, land and minerals, capital, banking, credit and foreign trade. The *political part* requires that the ultimate political power should be democratic. Unless there is popular control, there can be no reason to expect the State to conduct its economic enterprises except for its own enrichment, and therefore exploitation will merely take a new form. "Democracy, accordingly, must be accepted as part of the definition of a Socialist regime."¹⁹²

With much of the above definition of Socialism, no Marxian would have any serious quarrel. Indeed,

The Break-down
of the Profit Mo-
tive.

under Socialism of Russell's variety we have a conviction that the economic power of exploiting masses of human beings will not belong to individuals but to

192. Bertrand Russell: The Case for Socialism in "In Praise of Idleness," p 121-123.

the State. Though Russell is not prepared to go so far as to abolish private property altogether, he is quite sure that private investment must be legally prohibited, so that no one will be in receipt of interest or profits, "with the result that private wealth will gradually melt away except as regards a reasonable modicum of personal possessions."¹⁹³ Thus *Profit*, as a separate economic category, as leading under modern capitalism to 'exchange,' will disappear. The confusions and dislocations that result from leaving modern large-scale industry to be directed by the motive of private profit of the capitalists will vanish automatically in a Socialistic regime. *The Profit Motive must break down completely.*

When we come to the urgent problem of *International Relations* and the strong need at the present moment of preventing War, we again find Russell on the right track. The two questions to which he confines himself are :

(1) How far is the danger of war at the present time bound up with Capitalism? and (2) How far would the establishment of Socialism remove the danger? It is no use wasting time on the question of the likelihood of war or on its harmfulness. War, as Russell himself rightly reminds us, is an ancient institution, not brought into being originally by Capitalism, although its causes were always mainly economic. According to an old Persian saying, *War is due to Money, Land or Woman*. The first two causes are included in the term 'economic,'

193. Ibid,

the *third* is *psychological*. Among the latter set of causes may be mentioned Ambition, Aggressiveness, Rivalry, Adventure and Conceit, whether of individuals or of nations, of monarchs or tribes. So far as *sex* is concerned it comes in, as vigorous *males*, confident of victory, enjoyed War, while their *females* admired them for their courage and physical strength and prowess. A fresh source was supplied by *Religion*; in that name much blood was spilled in the Middle Ages. On the whole, we may say that these ancient motives still survive to the present day, though War has travelled very far from its primitive beginnings. Those Pacifists who wish war to cease altogether must not forget these psychological motives in their utopian zeal. As we shall try to show later, *Socialism without Internationalism* would not be able to give a complete safeguard against war; but Socialism in all the civilized nations might diminish its likelihood to a great extent.

The desire for *Peace* is no doubt much stronger today among all civilized peoples than at any time during the last few centuries. We know that the two *World-wars* which our generation has witnessed caused a tremendous loss of life and property, and they brought no prosperity to the victors. Most civilized persons and nations realize today that the third World-war might mean the virtual end of all that Western Civilization stands for. *Yet there is, in spite of all this, an imminent danger of War.* This is the crux of the whole situation today, and we must ask ourselves the question, Why? As Russell visualized

Modern Industrial-
ism and War.

the problem in 1930 or thereabouts, "Permanent peace cannot issue from this endless see-saw, but only from elimination of *the causes of enmity between nations*. In the present day, these causes are mainly to be found in the *economic interests of certain sections*, and are therefore only to be abolished by a *fundamental economic reconstruction*."¹⁹⁴ It is to be admitted that the diagnosis of Russell, made about 20 years ago in the above Essay, is correct to a remarkable extent even today. Why then do the statesmen of the civilized nations not make a concerted attempt to put an end to the muddle, in which the world finds itself? Indeed, there seems to be today a much clearer formulation of the whole problem than there ever was at any other period in recent History. And yet the prospects of a third world-conflagration on a yet grander scale are brighter today than ever. The situation is extremely intriguing and almost ridiculous, in spite of the impending tragedy.

It is necessary then that Social Philosophy should make a fresh attempt to find out the true explanation of the problem, which but for its grim tragedy, would look like a comic farce. If politicians and economists have failed to find a practical solution of the problem of ever-recurring wars, the reader may well be sceptical when the philosopher makes the futile attempt. We can almost read the cynical smile on the faces of practical statesmen as a fore-warning to us. How can the proverbial philosopher,

A psychological
explanation of the
tragic situation.

¹⁹⁴, Bertrand Russell : In Praise of Idleness p. 147.

who inhabits a dream-land, an Utopia, ever hope to solve a living practical issue of this magnitude, when *Plato, Kant, Hegel, Rousseau* and *Marx* failed miserably in their equally sincere and honest endeavours? Human Nature, such cynics remind us with a cheap sneer, is greater and mightier than the greatest of all philosophers. But we would respectfully ask these sceptics, 'What is this Human Nature, and who will analyse its nature but a Philosopher, well-versed in Social Psychology?' And we would venture to put another counter-question to the practical sceptic, "Where would the world have been today, but for the mighty intellectual constructions of the above-named giants and others?" It may be true that they were not always able to realize their dreams *immediately and wholly* to their entire satisfaction, but can any statesman or politician deny their lasting contributions at each critical epoch in the History of Western Civilization? And when we turn to our own mighty giants in the intellectual and spiritual field, can any Indian politician deny the permanent influence, on the trends of our Culture and Civilization, of the profound speculations of the great *Buddha*, the mighty dialectician, *Shankara*, and an innumerable host of other giants. And to come nearer to contemporary social and political issues, was not Gandhiji essentially and primarily a Philosopher, Seer and a Visionary? And was not he who had shaken our continent from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin, and from the N. W. Frontier to Assam? It is perhaps true that these dreamers and visionaries

sometimes forget *the solid foundations of Human Nature* in their emphasis on the tall superstructure which they visualize and wish to construct ; in short, they do not take a psychological but an *ethical or idealistic* stand.

We have briefly reviewed the various trends in contemporary social, political and economic affairs, in order to discover the causes of the unprecedented chaotic situation with which we are face to face.

"The Outlook for
Homo Sapiens,"

As H. G. Wells put it several years ago, "It is not simply 'the forcible misuse of purely mechanical inventions that is producing such frightening retrogressions of those brave, free hopes that culminated in the later twenties. Every fresh development of radio, of the film and mass information generally, and all the new educational devices to which we had looked for the rapid spread of enlightenment and a common world understanding, are being subordinated more and more to government restriction and the service of *propaganda*. They were to have been the artillery of progress. They are rapidly being turned against our mental freedoms with increasing effectiveness.'"¹⁹⁵ What, then, are we to do? Must we sit and watch silently the cruel spectacle of the ruin of Humanity? Man has made a real conquest of Nature by developing his scientific resources. Is he going to be defeated by his own mechanical creations? The Atom and Hydrogen Bombs, which are soon going to be manufactured in every National Scientific Laboratory, are the most frightful creations

195, H. G. Wells : *The Fate of Homo Sapiens*.

of Man's scientific genius, and like Frankenstein challenge to annihilate their creator. Where are those great Ideals of Peace, Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood, for which we had been asked to fight,—during the last two Wars,—and to lay down our lives? Rousseau and Kant must surely be feeling restless in their graves. We have been told by the Press, the Radio, the Films, that we must fight, endure and even die for Democracy. If Democracy means economic justice and the attainment of that universal sufficiency that science assures us is possible today, if Democracy means "*the intensest possible fullness of knowledge*" for everyone who desires to know and "*the greatest possible freedom of criticism and individual self-expression*" for any one who desires to object; if Democracy means "a community saturated with the conception of a *common social objective* and with an *educated will*" to cooperate willingly and understandingly upon that objective; if Democracy means "a complete and unified police control throughout the world," to repress the financial scramble and gangster violence which constitute "*the closing phase of the sovereign State and private ownership system*;" then certainly we would welcome such a democratic, international socialist organization, for which we will be prepared to live, fight or die, as circumstances may require. But where is this realization of the democratic process to be found? Has it been established anywhere on earth? It has not yet even been established as the "*guiding faith of any political or social organization whatever.*" If we ask ourselves

frankly the question, Is the Democratic idea growing and deepening in significance and is its hold on Mankind widening?—we may be doubtful even about a positive answer. Just before the end of the World War, we were beginning to be optimistic, with the United Nations Organization. Perhaps the venerable gentleman, the late President Roosevelt, brought a humanitarian, emotional and almost spiritual touch to bear upon the problem. Be it as it may, the present governments in the so-called Democratic nations hardly show that an international organization is possible in the near future. The only light in this dark world today comes from the spark which was lit about a hundred years ago by Marx and the only State today which is dimly, vaguely and partially trying to guide its destinies by the faint light of that spark is the U. S. S. R. But, hedged in as it is on all sides by the various Nation-states, misguided into patriotic fanaticism by the combined might of the old and the new Imperialisms, masquerading under the title of Democracies, the Russian experiment is in danger of pre-mature extinction, unless its spark is fanned by the Idealistic sentiment,—viz., *Love of Man for Man*. What we need today is a fresh synthesis of JESUS and MARX on a scientific and rational basis.

CHAPTER XI

GANDHISM AND INTERNATIONAL MORALITY

What is Gandhism and what does it stand for ? What are its teachings about the social, political, economic, educational and moral problems, facing not only India today, but the entire civilized world at the present critical moment in the history of Civilization and Culture ? Quite recently, there have appeared a number of books, articles and short essays, with the title of Gandhism ; it is true that Gandhi always denied that there is such a thing as Gandhism. This denial was nothing more than the almost Socratic modesty which Gandhi shared with all great leaders and prophets of the past. The fact remains that Gandhism has already caught the imagination of a large number of thinkers and social workers both in India and abroad. It has indeed been offered as a serious rival to Marxism. In this chapter, however, we shall try to analyse some of the essential features of Gandhism from the point of view of Social Philosophy.

Variously described as a saint and a political charlatan, a seditious faqir in loin-cloth and a true oriental ascetic, Gandhi has been one of the most discussed men in the world today. He wore a calm and unruffled face in the midst of all the storms and

Gandhism, a Utopian creed.

fury of ungenerous criticism on the one hand and unintelligent praise and devotion of his followers on the other. He had an inflexible will, a deep-seated conviction in his Gospel, symbolic of a Cosmic Will and Attitude, almost like the 'Inner Voice' of Socrates, the wisest man in all Hellas. In short, he was a mystic and a visionary, a Utopian Idealist and a social reformer.

Gandhian Utopia has innumerable aspects ; it is like a glittering diamond with an infinity of facets.

Utopian Socialism
of Gandhi.

Let us take a few of these in review, in order that we may get some idea of the whole gem. Gandhism is essentially a Socialistic creed, Gandhi was intensely and primarily a man of the masses. Born in a despotic ruling Chief's territory, of orthodox, devout Hindu parents, his Socialism could hardly have been of the scientific variety. His Ideology naturally came into clash again and again with the economic and materialistic Socialism of Marx. Even when in London, preparing for the Bar, we find him studying and meditating on the disease of Modernism, which in his own mode of thinking had destroyed the primitive village life of India, which had herded them in factories and was enslaving them spiritually and economically. Even at that stage in the evolution of his thought, we find him, like Bunyan, "a God-intoxicated man," to whom the soul was everything and the machine was abhorrent. Modern civilization was to him the enemy of spiritual life and Germany and England were living in the Hall of Death. "Their hands were full but their hearts

were emptied of all that gives significance to life."¹⁹⁶

In order to understand the full and far-reaching significance of the Gandhian Ideology, we must fully appreciate this Utopian, Oriental and Mystical aspects of his conviction. For Gandhi was always essentially, as he is today, a man of conviction,—with strong ideas, and he knew even as a Law student at the Temple, what his end in life should be. And, as John Stuart Mill once remarked : “One man with conviction was more powerful than a hundred who had only interests,” he was destined to “shake the world with his ideas and conviction.” Indeed, we may usefully contrast his personality with another man of conviction, who was also by sheer accident his contemporary in London at that point of time, a young man, small of figure, large of head, who might be seen daily in the reading room of the British Museum. This other was Lenin, the great revolutionary who also was destined to shake the world in his own style. Their ideas were, indeed, poles apart. The Russian dreamt of “a mechanized world in which God was out of place and in which humanity was welded into a machine of soulless efficiency.” If we dissect these two dynamic personalities of the present century carefully and critically, we find that their genius has travelled in two different directions, starting from the same starting point and having similar humanitarian aims. Each of them starts from the bare fact that the lot of the vast masses is intolerable; that Socialism is the only creed which will help in

196. Gandhi · Romain Rolland.

their salvation, is a conviction common to each. But Lenin was a Marxian in his outlook, a Scientific Socialist, whose attack on the Capitalistic civilization of Europe was a corollary from the Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism ; he had no quarrel with the Machine or Industrialization as such, only with the fact that Industry must not be run by a few Capitalists from the Profit Incentive. Gandhi was, however, from the start influenced by Ruskin, Tolstoy and other critics of the Machine itself. To him industrialization in itself is an evil, a degradation of the human personality. His Socialism was thus purely Utopian, Spiritual and Humanistic.

In order then to understand Gandhi, we must first try to appreciate his Spiritualism. All his

The Spiritualism of Gandhi

activities, social, economic, political and educational, hinge upon this central pivot. Gandhi is, above all, a deeply religious person. If we take him as a social reformer, we must be quite certain that it would be ultimately in a religious spirit that he takes to social reform ; if we take him as a political rebel, his revolt must necessarily take the form of spiritualizing politics. Religion to him is the essence of all human activity. On the other hand, he extended the connotation of Religion in the modern age so wide that he could not possibly conceive of any religious activity which is purely "other-worldly." In one of his written statements, he said, "I could not be leading a religious life, unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics.

The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. *I do not know any religion apart from human activity.* It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury' signifying nothing."¹⁹⁷ The above exposition of the concept and function of Religion is clearly *the centre and essence of Gandhism.* It represents the philosophy of life that undertakes to reconstruct our society and civilization on a basis obviously opposed to the scientific outlook of the West, which is wedded to a materialistic and a mechanistic philosophy of life, a "Welt-anschauung," which, according to Gandhi, has led to the muddle in which we find ourselves today.

But the question remains to be asked, why should there be any antagonism between Science and Religion, as is evident in the World today? Is there an inherent cleavage between the scientific and the religious attitudes? Is it impossible to work for an ultimate synthesis of the two attitudes, so as to make Religion scientific and Science spiritual? This question is fundamental both to the students of Gandhism as well as to the critics of Marxism, for we may ultimately hope for a synthesis of Scientific and Utopian Socialism, only if a satisfactory convergence of the two divergent tendencies could be arrived at. We feel that though Science today has become a mere tool in the hands of the

The Scientific
attitude

197. Gandhi • Non-Violence in Peace and War.

rapacious and power-seeking elements in society, producing in its turn a profound conflict in the life of individuals as of nations, Science need not necessarily be, and originally and essentially never was, a disruptive and a destructive force.

Let us then go back to the Greeks, in whom the scientific impulse took its birth at least in the West.

And let us ask ourselves the question, Did not the Greeks originally and primarily seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge? And is not Science and the scientific attitude the attitude of an inquirer, the critical outlook of an investigator, a seeker after truth? Without attempting here to answer these fundamental questions in detail, we may sum up the entire position somewhat dogmatically as follows. Science, in the course of the few centuries of its development in the West has undergone a vast and revolutionary change. In its beginnings, Science was due to men who were in love with the world, men who perceived the beauty of the stars and the sea, of the winds and the mountains. The Greek giants, Pythagoras and Herakleitos, Anaxagoras and Demokritos,—“felt the strange beauty of the world almost like a madness in the blood. They were men of Titanic passionate intellect, and from the intensity of their intellectual passion the whole movement of the modern world has sprung.”¹⁹⁸ But, step by step, as Science developed and gradually broke off from its almost mystic and intensely spiritual beginnings, the impulse of Love which gave

The Search for
Truth.

198. Bertrand Russell: *The Scientific Outlook*, Chap. XVII.

it birth has been increasingly thwarted, while the impulse of Power has gradually usurped command in virtue of its unforeseen success. As Bertrand Russell beautifully expresses it, "The lover of Nature has been baffled, the tyrant over Nature has been rewarded."¹⁹⁹

This brings us back from our digression into Ancient History to our present problem. We have

seen how Science has more and more substituted Power-knowledge for Love-knowledge. To the man

who wishes to change his environment, Science offers astonishingly powerful tools, and if knowledge consists in the *power to produce intended changes*, then Science gives knowledge in abundance. In the development of Science, since the days of Bacon who identified Knowledge with Power, the Power impulse has increasingly prevailed over the Love impulse. *This is the fundamental reason why the prospect of a Scientific society has been viewed by modern Utopians like Gandhi with apprehension.* For Knowledge is good and Ignorance is evil. But the desire for Knowledge has a purer form, belonging to an entirely different set of emotions. The Mystic, the Lover and the Poet are also seekers after Knowledge—not, however, for the purposes of Power, but for the sheer joy and ecstasy of contemplation.

Thus, we find that the scientific attitude at the present is threatening to engulf and overpower our proper and just appreciation of the Ultimate Values of Life. It is true that Power, in and by itself, is not dangerous. What is dangerous is *Power, wielded*

for the love of Power, and not harnessed to the Social Good. Science stops short at this point, and a Society and Civilization, based wholly upon Science, necessarily does violence to the Ultimate Values, Ends or Ideals. Power is not, and can never be, one of the Ends of life, but merely a Means to other Ends, and until men remember the Ends that Power should subserve, Science will not do what it might to minister to the Good life. What then are the Ends and Ideals that we should place before ourselves, so that we may contribute our share to the well-being of Society? For Man is *not Pure Intellect, nor Pure Will, nor Pure Feeling*, but a higher synthesis of all these and possibly something else besides. Our emotional aspirations must be supported by an acute and critical intellect and realized in our life through our activities. The organic unity of Intellect, Emotion and Will is an essential feature of the Spiritualism of Gandhi.

According to some critics, this emotional and sentimental Spiritualism was the real cause of Gandhi's widespread popularity in India and abroad. It was alleged that he appealed to the uneducated sentiments and untrained emotions of the masses; what we would emphasize, on the other hand, is that he appealed directly to the poor, the destitute, the exploited, the Harijan, the social and economic outcaste. The Mahatma brought the message of Christ home to the suffering humanity. As the late Revd. C. F. Andrews said, he was the greatest living exponent of Christianity, in all its finest and

Popularity
Gandhism

of

noblest aspect, as exemplified in the life of Jesus himself.

This leads us to the next vital aspect of Gandhism, which aspires to stem the tide of violence and strife, prevailing in Modern Civilization and Governments, by the organized use of the message of *Peace, Love*

Non-Violence or
Ahimsa.

and *Non-Violence*. 'Ahimsa' is essentially a doctrine of *individual development and salvation*, but has it any power to mould whole *societies* into peaceful communities, doing away with police, military and government by force? Can the individual be so changed or radically transformed as to act voluntarily in a peaceful way and cooperate with other individuals in evolving a perfect society and an ideal Government? If we may quote Plato, we would say that such a state of affairs can be realized only, when philosophers are kings and kings are philosophers. "All men desire peace, but very few desire those things that make for peace." The thing that makes for peace above all others is *the systematic practice in all human relationships of Non-violence*. Violence can never produce peace, but still more violence. If violence is answered by violence, the result is a physical struggle, which inevitably arouses in us emotions of hatred, fear and resentment. In the heat of conflict, all scruples are thrown to the winds, all the habits of forbearance and humaneness, slowly and laboriously formed during generations of civilized living, are forgotten. Nothing matters any more except *victory*. But victory in war does not provide a lasting settlement,

except when those defeated are completely or very nearly annihilated. In modern wars, waged between densely populated countries, extermination is extremely unlikely, except if the Atom Bomb becomes popular and is allowed by nations to be used ruthlessly and indiscriminately. One war, therefore, tends to beget another. Today entire populations must be involved in their country's battles. Again, victory may lead to a permanent peace where the victors settle down among the vanquished as a ruling minority and are, in due course, assimilated by them, as for instance, in the case of Muslim invaders of India in the past. This, however, does not and cannot apply to contemporary wars. Finally, victory is sometimes followed by an *act of reparation on the part of victors* to disarm the resentment of the vanquished and lead to a permanent settlement, as was the policy of the English after the Boer War. Such a policy is essentially an application of the principles of *Non-violence*. But the longer and the more savage the conflict, the more difficult it is to make an act of reparation after victory. It was psychologically almost impossible for the makers of the Versailles Treaty to be magnanimous, and it was equally hard to expect charity and magnanimity by the United Nations towards Japan and Germany. Thus commonsense demands that the principles of Non-violence should be applied, not *after* a war, when their application is supremely difficult, but *before* physical conflict has broken out and *as a substitute for such a conflict*. Non-violence is the practical consequence that follows from the belief in the

fundamental *Unity of all being*, viz., in a Monistic philosophy. But, quite apart from the validity of its philosophical basis, Non-violence can prove its value *pragmatically*, by a practical working test; that it does work *in private life* we have all observed, e. g., how anger feeds upon answering anger, but is disarmed by gentleness and patience. Those who would use Non-violence must practise self-control, must learn moral as well as physical courage, must pit against anger and malice a steady goodwill and a patient determination to understand and to sympathize. Violence makes men worse; Non-violence makes them better. In social life, the precepts of religion, morals and good manners represent a crude attempt at systematization of the principles of Non-violence in regard to personal relations more complex, more emotional, more passionate than those of the drawing-room and the street.

Men of exceptional moral force and even ordinary people, when strengthened by intense conviction, have demonstrated over and over again, in the course of history the

Non-violence and
Social Reform.

power of Non-violence to overcome evil, to turn aside anger and hatred. In the course of the last 150 years, the principles of Non-violence have been applied, even more systematically and with a growing realization of their *practical value*, to the solution of social, educational and medical problems, regarded before that time as completely insoluble. The problems of the insane, the criminal, the savage and the child, were insoluble only because violence had made them so. Thus, the cruel and

harsh treatment of the insane and the criminal resulted in the former's disease being aggravated and becoming incurable, and in the latter's confirmation and consolidation in the career of crime. Towards the middle of the 19th century, a considerable effort at reform was made and since then, doctors have come to rely in their treatment more and more upon kindness and intelligent sympathy, less and less upon harshness and constraint. The difference is the difference between organized violence and organized Non-violence. The story of Prison reform is essentially similar to that of the reform of asylums. Prisons used to be houses of torture, in which the innocent were demoralized and the criminal became more criminal. Thanks to the labours of John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, and the Prison Discipline Society, the movement in all democratic countries in the West has been in the direction of greater humaneness. The Colonial administrator and the Anthropologist have also discovered that organized and intelligent Non-violence is the best, *the most practical, policy*.

So much for the power of Non-violence in the relations of individuals with individuals. What about its power in mass movements, where the same principles are applied to the relations between large groups or entire populations and their Governments? History has shown that the results which follow attempts to carry through *intrinsically desirable social changes by violent methods are thoroughly or mainly undesirable*. The French Revolution and

Non-violence and
the State.

the Terror was followed by the extinction of the Republic, the rise of Napoleon, Bismarck and British Imperialism. This in turn led to the Great War, to militant Communism and Fascism and, finally to the rise of Hitler and return to *Universal rearmament*. Again, the Russian revolution, using essentially violent methods, inherited from the old Tsarist regime, gave birth to a highly centralized and economic dictatorship, using conscription, secret police methods, press censorship, intensive propaganda for the purpose of keeping the people in unquestioning subjection. By way of contrast, let us consider a few examples of *non-violent revolution*, especially the movements organized by Gandhi in South Africa and later in India. The South African movement may be described as completely successful. Here in India also, several important successes were recorded and it was conclusively "shown that very large groups of men and women could be trained to respond to the most brutal treatment with a quiet courage and equanimity that profoundly impressed their persecutors, the spectators in the immediate vicinity and, through the press, the public opinion of the entire world."²⁰⁰ There are other examples in recent history, even in Europe, where non-violent movements have been crowned with partial or complete success. We may mention the Finns' campaign of non-violent resistance to Russian oppression from 1901 to 1905 (which was completely successful and in 1905 led to the repeal of the law

200, Aldous Huxley Ends and Means, Chap. X.

imposing conscription). In an earlier period the long campaign of non-violent resistance and non-cooperation conducted by the Hungarians under Deak was crowned with complete success in 1867. Deak refused political power and personal distinction, was unshakably a pacifist, and without shedding blood compelled the Austrian Government to restore the Hungarian constitution. In Germany, two campaigns of non-violence were successfully carried out against Bismarck—the ‘Kultur-Kampf’ by the Catholics, and the working-class campaign, after 1871, for the recognition of the Social Democratic Party. More recently, non-violent resistance and Non-cooperation have been successfully used in India and Egypt against British domination.

Boycott is a weapon in the armoury of Non-violence. It was employed by the Persians to break the hated tobacco monopoly. The Chinese employed it against British goods, after the shooting of students by British troops. Gandhi used it here in India. A good example of the way, in which even a threat of non-violent Non-cooperation can avert war, was provided by the British Labour Movement in 1920. The Council of Action warned the Government and threatened a general strike, and a complete boycott of the war, in case British troops were sent to Poland for an attack upon the Russians. Faced with this ultimatum, the Lloyd George Government abandoned its plans for waging war against Russia.

To return from our digression into History, we may conclude by saying that Non-violence should

be successful not only in the relations of individuals with individuals but also of whole populations with Governments. The tradition of Politics is "a thoroughly dishonourable tradition." The world seems to sanction two systems of morality,—one for private individuals, another for national and political groups. It is against this 'duality' in our moral conceptions that Gandhi rightly protested. His introduction of Spirituality and Morality into Politics was a subject of endless criticism : but that seems to us a fundamental aspect of his Social Philosophy.

Indeed, Gandhism is essentially based on the fundamental *unity of Man*. Thus Gandhi repeatedly

Duality in Moral
Conceptions.

emphasized the point that Religion to him was a very mundane affair, a matter of our secular life, social, economic as well as political and cultural day-to-day living. We cannot be religious and yet practise unethical methods in business and politics. When he comes to modern political behaviour, he finds a saddening array of facts. Men who, in private life, are consistently honest, humane and considerate, believe that, when they are acting as the representatives of a group, they are justified in doing things which, as individuals, they know to be utterly disgraceful. The Nation is personified, in our imagination, as a Being superhuman in power and glory, sub-human in morality. We deify the State, but de-moralize it in the process. We never even expect the State to behave in any but the most discreditable way. Thus, examples of genuine *non-violent behaviour between Governments* are rare, except in cases

of trivial disputes which are settled easily by means of the existing machinery of conciliation. But, where important issues are at stake, national Egotism is allowed free rein, and the machinery of conciliation breaks down completely.

Non-violence is so often regarded as unpractical, or at best a method which only exceptional men and women can use, that we tend to forget that even when used unsystematically, as has been the case so far, the method actually works, and *secondly* that, it can be used by quite ordinary people, and "even, on occasion, by those morally subhuman beings, kings, politicians, diplomats and the other representatives of national groups, considered in their professional capacity."²⁰¹

But if we have a band of devoted individuals, an association for the propagation of '*Ahimsa*' and Non-Violence, their *first* task would be "the systematic cultivation of non-violent behaviour in all the common relationships of life, in personal relationships, in economic relationships, in relationships of groups with other groups and of groups with Governments." *The social structure of the community* has to be so arranged that individuals shall not be tempted to seek *Power*, to bully, to become rapacious and to exploit each other.

The *second* line of attack would be on the *ethical plane*,—the Individual Will, *viz.*, the individual must be taught, and taught to teach himself, how to control his tendencies towards aggression, rapacity,

201. Ibid

bullying, power-seeking and the like. Further training will be necessary in the elimination not only of *fear* but also of *anger* and *hatred*. The members of such a group must be able to meet violence without answering violence and without fear or complaint, and this not only in moments of enthusiasm, but also, and this is infinitely more difficult, when the blood is cold and when there is no emotional support from friends and sympathizers. Non-violent resistance to violent oppression is relatively easy in times of great emotional excitement, but it is very difficult at other times. It is so difficult as to be practically impossible except for those who have undergone systematic training for this very purpose. When we consider that it takes three to four years of training to make a good soldier, we might at least double the period of training—say six to eight years—to make a good non-violent resister, a trained soldier of peace, capable of putting his principles into practice under any circumstances however provoking.

A *third* line of attack would be psychological, *viz.*, to attempt to find out and remove the causes which lead to the abnormal quest for *Power* and glory, aggression and violence in the modern age. Our present society and civilization lacks emotional balance and adjustment; we are infantile in our pleasure-seeking as well as in our hostilities and resentments, we are savage and brutal in aggression and violence: in short, our primitive natural healthy instinct for life,—the '*elan vital*,'²⁰² or the

202 Henri Bergson: *Creative Evolution*.

'*libido*'²⁰³ is '*repressed*.' This repression takes the sadistic form of mass cruelties and murders. We have to lift this terrible burden of 'repression' from our lost soul. The modern man is in frantic search of his soul : we have, somehow, to regain it. Modern society is diseased and disintegrated, it requires thorough overhauling. No bandages and appliances, but only a major surgical operation, can save the situation. The skill of the surgeon, however, must be supplemented with his love and sympathy for the patient. It was in the fitness of things that the vast masses of suffering humanity looked upon Gandhi as their Guide, Philosopher and Friend, who could safely be entrusted with such a delicate operation.

Gandhi was one of those few individuals, a rare spirit who only now and again does arise above the common level, who "having looked upon God face to face, reflects more clearly the divine purpose, and puts into practice more courageously the divine guidance. The light of such a man shines like a strong beacon on a dark and disordered world." He literally left home and sacrificed personal ambition and ultimately threw away his life to give his people life and peace. The world would look back to him some day and he would be remembered when the names of the realists, who advised the world to ignore him, have been utterly forgotten. We shall salute him as "one born out of his time, one who had seen the light in a dark and savage world."²⁰⁴

203. S. Freud : A General Introduction to Psycho-analysis.

204. S. Radhakrishnan : Religion and Society pp. 229-238.

In the evolution of social thought, we may distinguish clearly *three* stages : the *first*, where might is right and the law of the jungle prevails, where we have the rule of force, violence and selfishness ; the *second* stage marks the rule of law and consent, with the law-courts, police, military, jails and corporeal punishments. We are still in the second stage of evolution. Gandhi envisaged the ideal, the *third* stage, where we have *Ahimsa*, non-violence and unselfishness. This last is the goal of civilized humanity, and though it may seem impossible of attainment, it was Gandhi's firm conviction that it *can and will* be realized. This goal can be brought nearer by the increase in the numbers of men and women who have not only renounced all force, but also all the benefits the State can offer. The State in all civilized governments today is still at the level of social and political morality. Gandhi visualized the level of International morality.

Gandhi in his own life never made any absolute distinction between Politics and Morality. In the words of a modern Gandhian, "His struggle for the one involved an unceasing attempt to better the conditions of living for millions of men and women ; his struggle for the other involved the heightening of the distinction between Right and Wrong for those upon whom the lives of these same millions depended."²⁰⁵

205. Stephen Spinks : *Vishwa Bharati*, Quarterly, Gandhi Memorial Peace Number. pp 205-206.

As Aldous Huxley rightly says in a note on Gandhi, "Gandhi, like Jefferson, thought of politics in moral and religious terms."²⁰⁶ His politics naturally had to transcend the limits of Nationalism and rise to International Morality. But the difficulties in the realization of the new Ideal are too great. As Sri Aurobindo puts it in his illuminating words, "the mind of the race has not yet got the necessary experience ; the intellect of our rulers has not yet acquired the necessary wisdom and foresight ; the temperament of our masses has not yet evolved the needed instincts and sentiments. Whatever arrangement is made for promoting International Unity and goodwill proceeds on the old basis of national egoisms, hungers, cupidities, self-assertions and will simply endeavour to regulate them just enough to prevent too disastrous collisions The causes of strife will remain ; the temper that engenders it will live on Armaments may be restricted, but will not be abolished ; national armies may be limited in numbers—an illusory limitation—but they will be maintained ; science will still continue to minister ingeniously to the art of collective massacre. *War can only be abolished if national armies are abolished* and even then with difficulty, And there is *no chance of national armies being abolished* ; for each nation distrusts all the others too much, has too many ambitions and hungers, The awakening must go much deeper, lay hold upon much purer roots of action before the

Aurobindo : Religion
of Humanity.

psychology of nations will be transmuted into that something 'wondrous, rich and strange' which will eliminate war and international collisions from our distressed and stumbling human life."²⁰⁷

We have seen that National egoism leads inevitably to strife. The limitation of armies and arma-

ments is an illusory remedy. Nor

A first step towards
International Unity.

would the matter be much im-

proved, if there were a composite

armed force of control set over the nations and their separate military strength; for this composite would break apart and its elements return to their conflicting sources on the outbreak of overt strife. And the soldiers of the composite army would belong at heart to their country and not at all to the nebulous entity which controlled them.

Therefore, "pending the actual evolution of an international State so constituted as to be something other than a mere loose conglomerate of nations or rather a palaver of the deputies of national governments,"²⁰⁸ the reign of peace, unity and goodwill could never be secure. No loose formation without a powerful central control could be satisfactory, effective or enduring.

There must hence be an inevitable *second* step, "a movement towards greater rigidity, constriction

The second step

of national liberties and the erection of a unique central authority

with a uniform control over the earth's peoples."²⁰⁹

207. Sri Aurobindo : The Ideal of Human Unity, pp. 131-132

208. Ibid, p. 136.

209. Ibid. p. 136

The ideal society or State is that in which respect for individual liberty is harmonized with respect for the needs and organic perfection of the corporate being, society or nation. In the international society or State, national liberty and free national growth and self-realization ought in the same way to be progressively harmonized with the solidarity and unified growth and perfection of the entire human race. But "ideal conditions cannot be expected, for they demand a psychological clarity, a diffused reasonableness and scientific intelligence and, above all, a moral elevation and rectitude to which neither the mass of mankind nor its leaders and rulers have yet made any approach."²¹⁰

The unity of the human race by political and administrative means implies eventually the formation and organization of a single
 World Union or World-State out of a newly created,
 World State. natural organic unity of mankind.

The idea of a World Union has been born not only in the speculative mind of the political philosopher, but in the consciousness of humanity out of the new common, closely interdependent existence of different nations, out of an involuntary and intimate association of different continents, different nations. Science, commerce and rapid communications have already drawn together the disparate masses of humanity into "a single mass which has already a common vital and is rapidly forming a common mental existence." The *World-State* must now either be brought about by a mutual understanding or

²¹⁰. Ibid. p. 138.

by the force of circumstances. A new order is demanded by the new conditions. "Two alternative possibilities and therefore two ideals present themselves," according to Sri Aurobindo, "a World-State founded upon the principle of centralization and uniformity, a mechanical and formal unity, or a world union founded upon the principle of liberty and variation in a free and intelligent unity."²¹¹ These two ideas and possibilities were carefully and critically considered by Sri Aurobindo about 40 years ago. He had then already given a bold lead to Humanity.

"To rely upon the common consent of conflicting national egoisms for the preservation of peace

between the nations is to rely upon
 The need of military unification. a logical contradiction." "A

League of Peace can only prevent armed strife for a time." "In times of great upheaval and movement, when large ideas, enormous interests and inflamed passions divide the peoples of the world, the whole system would be likely to break to pieces and the very elements of its efficacy would cease to exist"²¹² It is remarkable that the above remarks of the sage of Pondicherry have been borne out by the subsequent history of the League of Nations which had not been formed when he wrote them.

What would, let us then ask ourselves, be "the account of gain and loss for the life of the human race, which would result from the creation of a

211. *Ibid*, p 206.

212. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

unified *World-State*.” “On the credit side, we should

have first one enormous gain, the
 The peril of the assured peace of the world
 World-State

Peace assured, there would be an unparalleled development of ease and well-being. A great number of outstanding problems would be solved by the united intelligence of mankind working no longer in fragments, but as one At first, there would be a great cultural and intellectual efflorescence. Science would organize itself for the betterment of human life and the increase of knowledge and mechanical efficiency”²¹³ “There would be,” as Sri Aurobindo goes on to point out, “an unprecedented splendour, ease and amenity in this development of human life, and no doubt some chief poet of the age, writing in the common or official tongue,—shall we say, Esperanto?—would sing confidently of the approach of the golden age or even proclaim its actual arrival and eternal duration. But after a time, there would be a dying down of force, a static condition of the human mind and human life, then stagnation, decay, disintegration. The soul of man would begin to wither in the midst of his acquisitions.”²¹⁴ This would come about for the essential reason that the conditions of a vigorous life would be lost—“liberty, mobile variation and the shock upon each other of freely developing differentiated lives.”²¹⁵ The defender of the *World-State* would say that this will not happen,

213. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

214. *Ibid.*, p. 250

215. *Ibid.*, p. 250

because the *World-State* will be a free democratic State, not a liberty-stifling empire or autocracy, (as in the Roman Empire), and because liberty and progress are the very principle of modern life and no development would be tolerated which went contrary to that principle. But "Democracy is by no means, as we have pointed out in an earlier chapter, a sure preservative of liberty; on the contrary, we see today the democratic system of government march steadily towards such an organized annihilation of individual liberty as could not have been dreamed of in the old aristocratic and monarchical systems." Ibsen in his drama, "An Enemy of the People" has depicted with a great force of resentment the deadening effects of the tyranny of the majority. Sri Aurobindo visualized "something more formidable still, the tyranny of the whole, of the self-hypnotized mass over its constituent groups and units"¹⁶ This was first seen in Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia and later on in Nazi Germany in terrific proportions, though at the time of writing, this development could be seen only in speculative prevision. This is a very remarkable phase in the modern type of democracy, which has deviated a great deal from its origin in the Greeks. In large States, the personal share of each citizen in the government cannot be effective. "A formless and bodiless entity" has replaced the monarch, an "impersonal group-being"; against the power of this invisible ghost-like being, the individual is much more helpless than he was against old oppres-

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 251

sions. "The principle of regulation of all things by the State would have extended itself to the regulation of the mental as well as the physical life of man by the communal mind A static order of society would be the necessary consequence, since, without the freedom of the individual, a society cannot remain progressive The communal mass is always conservative and static in its consciousness and only moves slowly in the tardy process of subconscious Nature. The free individual is the conscious progressive : it is only when he is able to impart his own creative and mobile consciousness to the mass that a progressive society becomes possible."²¹⁷

"Uniformity," as Sri Aurobindo reminds us again and again, "is not the law of life. Life exists by diversity ; it insists that every group, every being shall be, even while one with all the rest in its universality, yet by some principle or ordered detail of variation unique."²¹⁸

Diversity in Unity :
The conditions of a
free World-Union.

It is true that order is the law of life ; but we must not confuse order with an artificial and external regulation, as the sound order is that which comes from within, as the result of a nature that has discovered and found its own law and the law of its relations with others. Hence the truest order is that which is founded on the greatest possible liberty, which is at once "the condition of vigorous

217. *Ibid.* p. 254.

218. *Ibid.* p. 255.

variation and the condition of self-finding."²¹³

We can illustrate the truth of this great principle from the example of diversity of language. "Language is the sign of the cultural life of a people, the index of its soul in thought and mind that stands behind and enriches its soul in action. . . . Diversity of language is worth keeping, because diversity of cultures and differentiation of soul-groups are worth keeping, and because without that diversity life cannot have full play; for, in its absence there is a danger, almost an inevitability of decline and stagnation."²¹⁴ "Not then a uniform unity, not a logically simple, a scientifically rigid, a beautifully neat and mechanical sameness but a living oneness, full of healthy freedom and variation, is the ideal which we should keep in view and strive to get realized in man's future."²¹⁵

"The union of liberty and equality," according to Shri Aurobindo, "can only be achieved by the power of human brotherhood and it cannot be founded on anything else. But brotherhood exists only in the soul and by the soul; it can exist by nothing else. For this brotherhood is not a matter either of *physical* kinship or of *vital* association or of *intellectual* agreement. When the soul claims *freedom*, it is the freedom of its self-development, the self-development of the Divine in man in all his being. When it claims *equality*, what it is claiming is that

²¹³. Ibid, p. 256.

²¹⁴. Ibid, pp 261-262.

²¹⁵. Ibid, p. 262.

freedom equally for all, and the recognition of the same soul, the same Godhead in all human beings. When it strives for *brotherhood*, it is founding that equal freedom of self-development on a common aim, a common life, a unity of mind and feeling, founded upon the recognition of *this inner spiritual unity*. These *three* things are in fact the nature of the soul; for *freedom, equality, unity*, are the *eternal attributes of the Spirit*. It is the practical recognition of this truth, it is the awakening of the soul in man and the attempt to get him *to live from his soul and not from his ego*, which is the inner meaning of *Religion*, and it is that to which the *Religion of Humanity* also must arrive before it can fulfil itself in the life of the race.²¹⁶

It is interesting to record that the above was written originally in 1916 before the end of the First Great War. Since then we have had the League of Nations and afterwards the U. N. O., but neither has proved at all satisfactory from the point of view of international morality. The reason is that the statesmen of the world even today seek to divorce Politics from Morality, Religion and Spirituality. It is the unique contribution of Gandhi and Aurobindo that they seek to base *the World State on a Religion of Humanity*, thus correlating the Ideal of Human Unity with the Ideal of International Morality.

216. *Ibid* p. 315.

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF PLATO

The Republic of Plato has been rightly regarded as being the earliest attempt in the West to deal systematically with Social Philo-

Introductory

sophy. It is still, in many respects, the most profound and stimulating work on the subject. Its absorbing interest depends on the deep insight, the comprehensive and synthetic outlook and the almost prophetic vision, which is characteristic of the work. The Republic is, indeed, Plato's most powerful creation. Its writing must have occupied a very considerable time and during the interval, the restless mind of Plato was not content to stand still : hence some incongruities and inconsistencies between the different parts of the Republic. Besides, Plato was himself a queer mixture of opposite tendencies, which he tried at every step to reconcile and balance in a grand synthesis. We give below a short summary of *The Republic* for the benefit of the reader.

Was Plato a forerunner of Modern Socialism, Fascism or Communism ? The answer is exceedingly difficult to give. He lets the lower classes fall completely out of sight : the masses are compared to desires, the lowest element in the soul ; he has a contempt for the " worker." Mere pride of birth and rank had something to do with it. But as a

corrective to the possible misuse of unlimited power by the ruling class, he has given the safeguards in the suppression of the Family and Private Property. In the *Laws*, a dialogue of his old age, Plato renounces the absolute character of the Philosopher's rule : he accepts a compromise which introduces constitutional checks and even gives the masses a share of political power. "Community of women, of children, of goods," he still pronounces to be the best, though he abandons the project of realizing the Communistic Ideal. Plato's quarrel is not with Individuality as such, but with the diversities of different individuals in Society, as also with 'the inward multiformity' within the Individual Soul. He rejects the chaotic Individual as well as the chaotic State : this is the reason why he rejects Democracy as the equality of the unequal. Nor must we forget the close connection between his ethico-political ideal in his Social Philosophy and his doctrine of Ideas in his Metaphysics. Plato saw in individual differences only impediments preventing the realization of an Ideal which for him was final and complete : the modern conception of diversity, as salutary to progress, was absent in him. But he is essentially a modern, when he talks of the emancipation of women, equality of the sexes, and freedom of women in their choice of vocations. In all these matters, a considerable part of his demands have been actually fulfilled, in our own time, in all the civilized parts of the world.

Summary of The Republic

A conversation upon the subject of old age, its

faults and its trials, carried on between Cephalus and Socrates, introduces the question,—What is Justice? Cephalus then retires, leaving Polemarchus to continue the discussion with Socrates.

Book I.
Polemarchus begins by propounding a definition of Justice given by Simonides, who makes it consist in restoring to everybody what is due to him. According to Simonides, the nature of the debt depends upon the nature of the relation subsisting between the two parties ; so that in reality, he makes justice consist in doing good to our friends and harm to our enemies.

Polemarchus defines friends as those whom we regard as good and honest men. Socrates shows that, as we are constantly liable to misjudge the characters of people, we must maintain either that it is just to injure the good, which is an immoral doctrine ; or else that it is occasionally just to injure our friends, which directly contradicts the doctrine of Simonides.

Polemarchus re-states the theory of Simonides thus : it is just to help our friends, if they are good men, and to injure our enemies, if they are bad men.

In reply to this, Socrates, arguing from analogy, shows that, to injure a man is tantamount to making him less virtuous and, therefore, less just. But how can a just man, by the exercise of his justice, render the character of another less just than it was ? The idea is preposterous. Therefore, the definition of Simonides, as amended by Polemarchus, is again proved to be incorrect.

Hereupon, Thrasyarchus defines Justice as ‘ *the interest of the stronger* ’ and argues that in every State it is considered unjust to violate the laws. The laws are framed to serve the interests of the government : and the government is stronger than its subjects : therefore, universally, *Justice is the interest of the stronger, or, Might is Right.*

But, urges Socrates, a government often makes mistakes, and enacts laws which are detrimental to its own interests : and according to Thrasyarchus, justice requires the subject in every instance to obey the laws of the land : consequently, it is often just for the subject to do what is prejudicial to the interest of the government, i.e., *what is not* for the interest of the stronger. Therefore, Justice cannot be defined as the interest of the stronger.

To avoid this conclusion, Thrasyarchus retreats his previous admission, and explains that, properly speaking, a governor, in so far as he is a governor, cannot be said to make mistakes ; and that, therefore, the government, speaking strictly, always legislates to its own advantage, while justice commands the subject to obey.

Socrates, in reply, demonstrates that every art, and therefore the art of government among others, consults the interests not of the artist or superior but of the subject or inferior.

Upon this, Thrasyarchus abruptly turns the discourse by declaring that a governor treats his subject just like the shepherd who fattens his flock for his own private advantage ; and that, really, injustice, practised on an extensive scale, is by far

the best and most lucrative course that a man can adopt.

Socrates first corrects the assertion that the shepherd fattens his flock for his own private advantage, because it follows from the rule, laid down by Thrasymachus himself, that, properly speaking, the shepherd, in so far as he is a shepherd, considers simply the good of his sheep. Further, how can we account for the fact that a governor expects to be paid for his work, except on the supposition that the benefits of government accrue not to the governor, but to the subject? Indeed, strictly speaking, every artist is remunerated, mediately by his art, but immediately, by what Socrates calls 'the art of wages,' which generally accompanies the others.

Secondly, he turns to the position that perfect injustice is more profitable than perfect justice, and elicits from Thrasymachus the assertion that justice is mere good nature, whereas injustice is genuine good policy, and, therefore, wise, good and powerful. By a display of verbal ingenuity, Socrates forces him to admit (1) that the unjust man tries to go beyond or overreach both the just and the unjust, (2) that everyone who is skilful in some art, and therefore wise and good, endeavours to go beyond, or outdo, not the skilful, but the unskilled, (3) that, therefore, the good and wise do not try to go beyond those who are like themselves, but only those who are unlike themselves. Whence we may infer that the just man is wise and good, and that the unjust man is evil and ignorant. He then proceeds to show that injustice tends to produce strife and division,

while justice induces harmony and concord ; and that injustice destroys all capacity for joint action both in States and in individuals, and is, therefore, an element of weakness, not of strength.

Finally, Socrates endeavours to show that the soul, like the eye and the ear and every other thing, has a work or function to perform, and possesses a virtue which enables it to perform that work. This virtue of the soul is justice ; and therefore, without it, the soul itself cannot live happily. Hence the just man is happy, and the unjust man is miserable ; and therefore, injustice can never be more profitable than justice.

In the beginning of the second Book, Glaucon and Adeimantus agree that a just life is really preferable to an unjust life ; but they

Book II cannot help seeing that too much stress has been laid by the eulogists of justice upon its accidental advantages, to the neglect of its intrinsic qualities. Would not a person be quite ready to commit injustice, if he could be sure of never suffering from the injustice of other men ? Is not justice a kind of compromise, brought about by the necessities of social life ? And, assuming the existence of the gods, how do they regard the just and the unjust man ? May not the sins of the latter be expiated by sacrifice ; and in that case, will he not be as happy as the just man in the next world, and is he not much happier than the just in the present life ?

Socrates, acknowledging the difficulty, asks whether justice might be predicated of a State, as well

as of an individual? And, if so, will it not be more fully developed, and therefore more intelligible, in the former than in the latter? Let us trace the rise of a State, and then we shall be able also to trace the rise of justice and injustice.

Man, isolated from his fellow-men, is not self-sufficient. Hence the origin of society, and of the State, which requires the concurrence of four or five men at least, who establish the first elements of a division of labour, which becomes more minute as the members of the community increase. Thus, the society comprises at first only of husbandmen, builders, clothiers, shoemakers. To these are soon added carpenters, smiths, shepherds, graziers. Gradually a foreign trade arises, which necessitates increased production at home, in order to pay for the imported goods. Production, carried on so large a scale, will call into existence a class of distributors, shops, and a currency. Thus the State requires merchants, sailors, shop-keepers and hired labourers.

A State, thus constituted, will be supplied with the necessaries of life, if its members do not multiply too rapidly for its resources. But if it is to be supplied with the luxuries, as well as with the necessaries of life, it must contain, in addition, cooks, confectioners, barbers, actors, dancers, poets, physicians, etc. It will therefore require a large territory, and this want may involve it in a war with its neighbours. But war implies soldiers and soldiers must be carefully trained to their profession. Hence the state must possess a standing army or class of Guardians.

How are these Guardians to be selected and what qualities must they possess? They must be strong, swift and brave; high spirited, but gentle; and endowed with a taste for philosophy.

But how must they be educated? We must be very scrupulous about the *substance* of the stories which they are taught in their childhood. Nothing derogatory to the dignity of the gods must be admitted in these tales. Truth, courage and self-

Book III. control must be inculcated by all

the stories that are employed in their education. Again, the *form* in which the stories are conveyed, will greatly affect the nature of their influence. Poetry may be either purely imitative, as in the drama; or purely narrative, or a compound of both, as in the epic. The Guardians must only be allowed to imitate men of high and exalted character.

Again, strict regulations must be enforced with reference to songs, harmonies and musical instruments. No soft and enervating music is to be admitted into the perfect State. All musical instruments must be excluded with the exception of the lyre, the guitar and the pipe. And the object of all these regulations is to foster and develop in the minds of the pupils, a sense of beauty, harmony and proportion, which will influence their whole character, and all their intercourse with one another.

Having thus discussed *music* in the Greek sense of the term, Socrates proceeds to discuss *gymnastic*. The diet of the Guardians must be simple and moderate, and therefore healthy. This will make them independent of the physician's advice.

According to Plato, gymnastic develops the *spirited* element of our nature, just as music develops the philosophic : and the great object of all education is to temper and blend these two elements together in just and harmonious proportion.

Now, obviously, the magistrates of the State must be chosen out of this superior class. They must, indeed, be the oldest, the most prudent, the ablest and above all the most patriotic and unselfish members of the body. These are the true Guardians of the State, the remainder are to be called Auxiliaries. And in order to convince the citizens of the wisdom and justice of this order of things, we must tell them a story, to the effect that they were all originally fashioned in the bowels of the earth, their common mother ; and that it pleased the gods to mix gold in the composition of some of them, silver in that of others, iron and copper in that of others. The first are to be Guardians, the second Auxiliaries, the third husbandmen and craftsmen ; and this rule must be most carefully observed and perpetuated, otherwise the State will most certainly perish.

Finally, we must select a camp within the city for this army of Guardians and Auxiliaries, in which they are to live a hardy, frugal life, quartered in tents, not in houses, supported by the contributions of the citizens, and above all, possessed of nothing which they can call their own.

Replying to the question whether the Guardians will at all be happy, Socrates states that the object of the true legislator is to make the entire State, with its three classes

of Guardians, Auxiliaries and producers, a happy one. And this leads him to consider the duties of the Guardians. In the first place, they must endeavour to remove any tendency to excessive wealth, or excessive poverty, in the other members of the State. In the second place, they must be on their guard against a too rapid increase of territory. In the third place, all innovations in music and gymnastic must be strenuously put down. All minor regulations may be safely left to the discretion of magistrates for the time being and the religious rites and ceremonies must be referred to the decision of the Delphian Apollo.

And now, having traced the rise of a State, Socrates returns to the question, What is Justice? And in what part of the State are we to look for it?

The State, if it has been rightly organized, must be perfectly good. If perfectly good, it must be wise, brave, temperate and just. Hence, regarding the virtue of the State as a given quantity, made up of wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice, if we can find three of these, we shall, by that very process, have discovered the fourth.

The wisdom of the State obviously resides in the small class of Guardians or Magistrates. The courage of the State, obviously resides in the Auxiliaries, and consists essentially in ever maintaining a right estimate of what is, or is not, really formidable.

The essence of temperance is restraint. The essence of political temperance lies in recognizing the right of the governing body to the allegiance

and obedience of the governed. It does not reside in one particular class, like wisdom and courage, but is diffused throughout the entire State in the form of a common consent, or harmony, upon this subject. Thus we have found the three : where, then, is the fourth ?

After eliminating wisdom, courage and temperance, there still remains a something which enables the other three to take root in the State, and preserves them intact therein. This something must therefore, be justice, which may be defined as that which teaches everybody *to attend to his own business without meddling in that of other people*—which fuses together the three classes in the State and keeps each in its proper place.

Let us apply these results to the Individual.

What is found in the State must be also found in the Individual. For how could it enter the State, except through the individual members of the State ? Hence we should expect to find in the individual three principles, corresponding to the three classes of the State.

Two contradictory impulses, co-existing in the mind, cannot proceed from the same source. A thirsty man is often unwilling to drink. Hence, there must be *two* principles within him, one prompting him, the other forbidding him, to drink. The former proceeds from appetite or desire, the latter from reason. Hence we have at least two distinct elements in the soul—one rational, the other irrational, appetitive.

In the same way, we find ourselves obliged to

distinguish a *third* element, which is the seat of anger, spirit, resentment, and may be called the spirited or passionate element. When there is any conflict between the rational and the irrational principles, this third principle always arrays itself on the side of the former. Thus we have (1) the rational, (2) the spirited, and (3) the concupiscent element in the individual, corresponding to the (1) Guardians, (2) the Auxiliaries, and (3) the productive class in the State. Hence, the individual is wise, in virtue of the wisdom of the rational element; courageous, in virtue of the courage of the spirited element; temperate, when the rational element governs with the full consent of the other two; and finally just, when each of the three performs its own proper work, without meddling with that of others.

The women are to be trained exactly like the men. For the woman is just as capable of music and gymnastic as the man; the only difference being one of *degree*, not of *kind*, caused by the fact that the woman is weaker than the man. Those women, who give evidence of a turn for philosophy or war, are to be associated with the Guardians or Auxiliaries, are to share their duties, and become their wives. The connexions, thus formed, are to be placed entirely under the control of the magistrates, and sanctified by religious solemnities; and the children are to be separated from their parents, and brought up in a State establishment. In this way, and only in this way, is it possible for the Guardians and Auxiliaries to lose all sense of private property, and thus become conscious

of a perfect unity of interest, which will preserve an unbroken harmony between these two bodies themselves, and between the individual members of them.

Socrates then proceeds to lay down rules for the early initiation of the children into the art of war; for the treatment of the cowards and of the brave; for the plundering of the dead, and the erection of trophies.

Being asked whether such a community of women and children is at all practical, Socrates replies by reminding Adeimantus, that his object throughout has been to sketch a perfect Commonwealth, in the full expectation of discovering thereby the nature of justice. The possibility of realizing such a Commonwealth in actual practice is quite a secondary consideration, which does not, in the least, affect the soundness of the method, or the truth of the results. All that can fairly be demanded of him is, to show how the imperfect politics, at present existing, may be brought most nearly into harmony with the perfect State which has just been described. *For this, the highest political power must be vested in philosophers.*

In the first place, the true philosopher is devotedly fond of wisdom in all its branches. And here, we must carefully distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit lover of wisdom. The point of distinction lies in this, that the latter contents himself, for example, with the study of the variety of beautiful objects with which we are surrounded, whereas the former is never satisfied, till he has penetrated to the essence of Beauty in itself. The intellectual state of the former may be described as

opinion, that of the latter as *real knowledge*. Intermediate between real existence and non-existence stands phenomenal existence; and intermediate between Science and ignorance stands opinion. Hence, we conclude that opinion takes cognizance of phenomenal existence. Those who study real existence must be called lovers of wisdom, or philosophers; those who study phenomenal existence must be called lovers of opinion, not philosophers.

The genuine philosophers alone are to be made the Guardians of a State. The characteristics of

the true philosophic disposition are,
 Book VI

(1) an eager desire for the knowledge of all real existence; (2) hatred of falsehood, and devoted love of truth; (3) contempt for the pleasures of the body; (4) indifference to money; (5) highmindedness and liberality; (6) justice and gentleness; (7) a quick apprehension and a good memory; (8) a musical, regular and harmonious disposition.

Adeimantus objects that he finds that the devoted students of philosophy always become eccentric and useless, if not entirely depraved. Socrates admits the charge, but lays the blame on the degraded condition of the politics and the politicians of the day. For, in the present state of things, the genuine philosophic disposition is liable to be corrupted by a variety of adverse influences. The few who continue steadfast in their allegiance to philosophy, resign politics in disgust, and are well content, if they can escape the corrupting effect of contact with the world.

How is this evil to be remedied? The State itself must regulate the study of philosophy, and must take care that the students pursue it on right principles, and at a right age. And now, surely, we may expect to be believed when we assert that *if a State is to prosper, it must be governed by philosophers*. Thus the constitution just described is the best, if it can be realized; and to realize it is difficult, but not impossible.

So these true philosophers are the genuine guardians of the Ideal State. Resuming the question of the Education of these Guardians, Socrates now goes on to say that they must undergo special training in order to test still further their intellectual and moral qualities. The highest study of all is the study of 'The Good' whose possession is blindly coveted by all men. Socrates explains this conception of The Good with the help of an analogy.

There are two worlds,—one visible, *i. e.*, apprehended by the eye; the other intelligible, *i. e.*, apprehended by the pure intelligence. Each world comprises two sub-divisions, which, proceeding from the most uncertain to the most certain, are (A) in the *visible* world, (1) *images, i. e.*, shadows, reflections, etc., (2) *objects, i. e.*, all material things, whether animate or inanimate; (B) in the *intellectual* world, (1) *knowledge* attained by the aid of assumed premises, on which all the conclusions depend, and employing [by way of illustration the second class of (A), *e. g.* Geometry; (2) *knowledge*, in the investigation of which no material objects, but only the essential *Forms* are admitted, and in

which hypotheses are used simply as a means of arriving at an absolute first principle, from which unerring conclusions may be deduced. Corresponding to these *four* classes, we have four mental states, which again, proceeding from the most uncertain to the most certain, are (a) *Conjecture*, (b) *Belief*, (c) *Understanding*, (d) *Reason*.

And now Socrates explains the real import of such an education with the help of the Allegory of

the Cave. A number of persons,
 Book VII. chained from their birth in a sub-

tterranean cavern, with their backs to the entrance of the cavern, and a fire burning behind them, between which and the prisoners runs a roadway, flanked by a wall, high enough to conceal the persons who pass along the road, while it allows the shadows of things which they carry upon their heads to be thrown by the fire upon the wall of the cavern facing the prisoners, to whom these shadows will appear the only realities. Now suppose that one of them has been unbound, and taken up to the light of day, and gradually habituated to the objects around him, till he has learnt really to appreciate them. Such a man is to the prisoners what the rightly educated philosopher is to the mass of half-educated men. If he returns to the cavern and resumes his old seat and occupations, he will, at first, be the laughing-stock of the place, just as the philosopher is the laughing-stock of the multitude. But once rehabilitated to the cavern, his knowledge of the objects, which throw the shadow, will enable him to surpass the prisoners on their own ground,

In the same way, the philosopher, when once habituated to intercourse with the world, will surpass his worldly antagonists in the use of their own weapons. This we must compel our Guardians to do.

To carry out the analogy still further, just as the whole body of the released prisoner was turned round in order to bring his eye to look in the right direction, so *the purpose of Education is to turn the whole soul round, in order that the eye of the soul, or Reason, may be directed to the right quarter.* Education does not generate or infuse a new principle; it only guides and directs a principle already in existence.

This revolution of the soul has to be brought about by the agency of studies which tend to draw the mind from *the sensuous to the Real*,—from the visible to the Invisible and Eternal : and all pursuits which excite the mind to reflect upon the essential nature of things will produce this result. The studies include (1) Arithmetic, (2) Plane Geometry, (3) Solid Geometry, (4) Astronomy, (5) the Science of Harmonics, (6) Dialectic, or the science of Real Existence.

Socrates now proceeds to deal with the varieties of mental constitution and political organization.

Book VIII

All conceivable politics may be reduced to five great classes, represented by *aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy and despotism or tyranny.* Hence, there are also *five* great classes of individual character, corresponding to the *five* kinds of commonwealth. For, the State is the product of its

individual citizens, and therefore the character of the former is to be traced in the character of the latter.

Socrates then proceeds to describe the character of the four inferior men and states. In the course of time, divisions will arise between the three classes of the perfect Commonwealth, and between the members of the classes themselves. The result will probably be an accommodation between the two higher classes, on the understanding that they shall divide the property of the other citizens, and reduce the third class to the condition of slaves or serfs. The distinguishing feature of such a State will be the preponderance of the *spirited* element : this would be Timocracy, the government of honour. Corresponding to this State, we have the timocratical man, in whom the spirited element and the love of honour are also predominant.

The love of wealth, which entered with Timocracy, grows till it transforms Timocracy into Oligarchy, the essence of which consists in making political power depend upon a property qualification. In such a Commonwealth, the extremes of wealth and property are found side by side. The city is divided into two sections, (1) the rich and (2) the poor, who hate and plot against one another. Similarly, we may represent the oligarchical man, devoted to the pursuit of gain : like the oligarchical State, he is prey to inward divisions, though he keeps up appearances, for the sake of improving his prospects of success in the acquisition of wealth.

The extravagant love of riches, which pervades the governing body in an oligarchy, gradually

produces a dangerous class of poverty-tricken men who at length appeal to arms, expel the rich, and establish an equality of civic rights. *This is Democracy. Liberty, degenerating into licence, is the chief feature of such a State.* In the same way, the democratical man is one, in whom the licentious and extravagant desires have expelled the moderate appetites. Such a man lives a life of enjoyment from day to day, guided by no regulating principle, but turning from one pleasure to another, just as the fancy takes him. All pleasures are in his eyes equally good, and equally deserving of cultivation. In short, his motto is 'Liberty and Equality.' The extravagant love of Liberty, which marks Democracy, prepares the way, by a natural reaction, for *tyranny*.

The tyrannical man is the true child of the democratical man,—one in whom a single absorbing

Book IX

passion has gradually become predominant, which takes under its protection all the lower appetites and desires, and ministers to their gratification. He is full of all kinds of cravings, which he is ready to satisfy at the expense of the violation of every natural tie. Faithless, unjust, unholy, this tyrannical man is the destined tyrant of the tyrannical State.

Now, as State is to State in point of happiness or misery, so is man to man. The aristocratical State is obviously the most virtuous and the happiest; the tyrannical State is confessedly the most wicked and miserable. Therefore the aristocratical man is the most virtuous and happy; the tyrannical despot, the most wicked and wretched.

Again, the soul of man contains *three* specific principles, (1) the rational or wisdom-loving, (2) the spirited or honour-loving, and (3) the appetitive or gain-loving. There are likewise *three* species of pleasure, corresponding to these three principles. Now the philosopher extols *wisdom* as the source of greatest pleasure; the ambitious man, *honour*; the lover of gain, *wealth*. Obviously, the philosopher, who alone is acquainted practically with all the three classes of pleasure, can judge most correctly. Thus the pleasures of wisdom occupy the first rank; of honour, the second; of riches, the third. Therefore, once again, we find that wisdom, virtue and happiness are inseparable.

Again, who can tell what pleasure really is, or know it in its essence, except the philosopher, who alone is conversant with realities? Hence we are justified in asserting that true pleasure can only be *then* attained, when the soul is attuned to harmony under the guidance of the rational principle. Hence the more reasonable a desire, the more pleasurable its gratification. That which is most orderly and lawful, is also most reasonable. So the gratification of the aristocratical man's desires is the most orderly and lawful; on the other hand, the desires of the tyrannical man are most remote from law and order; and therefore their gratification is attended with a very inferior kind of pleasure. Hence, we find again that the aristocratical man is happier than the tyrannical.

And now we are in a position to criticize the doctrine advanced by Thrasymachus, that it is for a

man's advantage to be thoroughly unjust, so long as he can evade the penalties of his crimes by keeping up the appearance of justice. Is it expedient to starve and enfeeble the man, and to feast and strengthen the lion and the serpent in us? Obviously not. So it is best to be governed by a just and divine principle, which ought, if possible, to reside in a man's own soul; but if not, it must be imposed from without, in order that harmony may prevail in our *social* relations. To maintain this inward and outward harmony will be the single object of the just man, who will model himself on the pattern of this Perfect and Ideal Commonwealth which doubtless exists in heaven, if not upon earth.

Socrates now resumes the subject of Poetry, and
 Book X. Imitation generally. What, he in-
 quires, is the imitative art?

The poet imitates, not the Forms, which are the only realities, but simply the phenomena of daily life, and the opinions prevalent among the half-educated.

To what part of the mind does imitative art address itself? Certainly not to the rational element, which is the noblest part of our nature, but to some inferior element, which is always ready to give way under the pressure of calamity, and is full of change and perturbation, and which therefore offers, in return, the widest field for imitation.

Again, Poetry weakens the mind by leading us to sympathize too deeply with the afflictions of others, and thus rendering us unfit to bear up under our own troubles. Therefore we are compelled,

much against our will, to lay down the rule, that only hymns in honour of the gods, and eulogies of great men and noble actions, are to be admitted into the Perfect State.

To everything, there is a special vice or infirmity attached. The peculiar infirmities, attached to the soul, are (1) *injustice*, (2) *intemperance*, (3) *cowardice*, (4) *ignorance* : but they cannot destroy the soul *immediately*, as a disease destroys the body. But if wickedness cannot destroy the soul, nothing else can ; therefore the soul is immortal.

And now, having satisfied ourselves that Justice is, in itself, the just man's reward, we may fairly take into account the honours and emoluments which gods and men bestow upon him. For we cannot doubt that he is loved by the gods, and that all the dispensations of Providence are designed for his good, even when they seem most adverse. And even men are sure to love and honour him, towards the close of his life, if not before. Still, all these rewards are nothing, when compared with those which after death await the just. This is finally illustrated by Socrates through the fable of Er, the son of Armenious ; and with this story the Republic closes.²¹⁷

217. This summary of the Republic is adapted from the standard translation of Davies and Vaughan.

APPENDIX B

READINGS AND QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. A. N. Whitehead : Process and Reality.
2. A. N. Whitehead : Adventures of Ideas.
3. S. Radhakrishnan : An Idealist View of Life.
4. Bertrand Russell : The Scientific Outlook.
5. Bertrand Russell : Problems of Philosophy.
6. Aldous Huxley : Ends and Means.
7. R. D. Ranade : The Pathway to God.
8. Watts-Cunningham : Problems of Philosophy.
9. Patrick : Introduction to Philosophy.
10. Perry : Approach to Philosophy.
11. Hocking : Types of Philosophy.

QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the scientific outlook ?
Discuss the chief characteristics and limitations of the scientific method.
2. What is the exact relation between Philosophy, Science and Common-sense knowledge ?
3. What is the difference between judgments of facts and judgments of values ? Discuss fully.
4. What is the ideal goal of human effort in social matters ? Discuss, in this connection, some of the limitations of large scale reform.

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mackenzie . Outlines of Social Philosophy.
2. Hobhouse : The Elements of Social Justice
3. Hobhouse : Social Development.
4. Ginsberg : Sociology.
5. Barnes : Fascism.
6. G. D. H. Cole : Social Theory.
7. Edward Caird : The Social Philosophy of Co nte
8. K. Motwani : Sociology.
9. Plato : The Republic.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the subject-matter of Social Philosophy.
Why should Social Philosophy, be studied ? (B. A., Allahabad, 1940.)
2. Define the scope and meaning of Social Philosophy.
What is its relation to (a) Sociology, (b) Ethics, (c) Politics ? (B. A., Allahabad, 1949.)
3. What are social ideals ? How do they arise, and what influence do they exercise over human society ? (B. A., Allahabad, 1950.)
4. Point out clearly how Social Philosophy is concerned not with the discovery of human facts but with the interpretation of human values.

CHAPTER II

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mackenzie : Outlines of Social Philosophy
2. Ginsberg : The Psychology of Society
3. McDougall : Social Psychology

4. Rickman : Selections from Freud.
5. MacIver : Society, A Text-book of Sociology.
6. Bosanquet : The Meaning of Teleology.
7. La Piere and Farnsworth : Social Psychology.
8. Giddings : Principles of Sociology.
9. Akolkar : Social Psychology.

QUESTIONS

1. Bring out the significance of the remark, "Man is a social animal." Is man the only social animal ?
2. What are the advantages of community-living ? Discuss the role of custom, law and morality, as the regulating principles of social life.
3. What do you understand by (a) "The Unsocial Sociableness of Man" (Kant); (b) "Ambi-valence" (Freud) ?
4. Is there necessarily a conflict between the self-assertive and the social impulses ? What do you understand by Egoism and Altruism ?
5. Can you visualize a society based on Pure Love and *Ahimsa* ? Discuss this question in the light of modern theories in Social Psychology. (B. A., Allahabad, Supp. 1947.)
6. "Nothing has been accomplished without interest on the part of actors . . . nothing great in the world has been accomplished without passion." (Hegel).
Discuss the meaning of Social Purpose in the light of the above quotation

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY AS A SOCIAL UNIT

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mackenzie : Outlines of Social Philosophy.
2. Marx and Engels : The Communist Manifesto.
3. Plato : The Republic ; The Laws.

4. Adam : Plato.
5. Rousseau : Emile.
6. Ernest Jones : Psycho-analysis.
7. Bartlett : Sigmund Freud.
8. Engels : Origin of the Family.
9. Rickman : Upbringing of Children.

QUESTIONS

1. "Home is the primary school of civic virtues." Justify this remark, giving illustrations.
2. Discuss the place of the Family as a social institution. Examine the Platonic and modern criticisms of it. (B. A., Allahabad, 1949)
3. "If we may treat the family as a little State, the child is its legitimate sovereign." (Mackenzie). With reference to the above quotation, write short notes on : (a) Educational Functions of the Family, (b) The Joint Family in India.
4. What is the importance of the economic aspect of the Family in modern India ? Critically evaluate the contribution of Marxism on this question.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Calverton : The Bankruptcy of Marriage.
2. Carpenter : Love's Coming of Age.
3. Bertrand Russell : Marriage and Morals
4. Lindsay : Revolt of Modern Youth.
5. Gandhi : Self-restraint vs. Self-indulgence (Parts I and II).
6. Briffault : The Mothers.
7. Westermarck : A short History of Marriage.
8. Malinowski : Sex and Repression in Savage Society
9. O. Schwarz : The Psychology of Sex.

10. The American Family in the 20th century.
11. Norman Haire : Encyclopaedia of Sexual Science.

QUESTIONS

5. "The decay of the marital institution of the modern world is a revolutionary development in our civilization" (Calverton).

Discuss marriage as a social institution in the light of the above question.

2. Discuss the Gandhian view of Marriage as a "Union of souls," in light of Modern Psychology.
3. Write a note on the emancipation of women, with reference to the problem of stability of marriage and the up-bringing of children.
4. Give a short History of Marriage as a Social Institution, pointing out the place of Monogamy in it.
5. "Love and Sex are two inseparable factors in Marriage, distinguishable but not separable." Discuss critically the above view.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Henry A. Mess : Social Structure.
2. Varkey : The Wardha Scheme.
3. Meek : Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe.
4. Quick : Educational Ideals.
5. Monroe : Student's History of Education.
6. Benjamin Kidd : The Science of Power.
7. Chalke : A Synthesis of Froebel and Herbart.
8. W. Boyd : History of Education.
9. T P. Nunn : Education, Data and First Principles.
10. Bertrand Russell : On Education.
11. Rousseau : Emile.
12. Rusk : Doctrines of Great Educators.

13. R. K. Mookerji : Ancient Indian Education.
14. Gentile : Reform of Education.
15. Ross : Groundwork of Educational Theory.
16. Baubacher : Philosophy of Education.
17. Dewey : School and Society.
18. Nettleship : Plato's Educational Theory.
19. Plato : The Republic.

QUESTIONS

1. How would you reconcile the individualistic and the sociological aims in Education ? (B. A., Allahabad, 1947.)
2. What is the function of the School in Society ? Is it the duty of the State to guide and control the educational policy of a nation ? (B. A., Allahabad, 1943.)
3. Write short notes on any *two* of the following :—
 - (a) Tagore's Educational Ideals.
 - (b) The Wardha Scheme of Education.
 - (c) The Gurukula Ideal in Education.
 - (d) 'Auto-Education.'
4. What do you understand by the following ?
 - (a) "Society must give freedom to the Individual."
 - (b) Individuals must give freedom to Society."

In this connection, discuss Rousseau's position in the History of Education ?

CHAPTER VI

PROPERTY AND SOCIAL GRADATION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. N. G. Damle : Civics for Beginners.
2. Mackenzie : Fundamental Problems of Life.
3. Hobhouse : Property, its Duties and Rights.
4. Sidney and Beatrice Webb : The Decay of Capitalist Civilization.

5. Marx and Engels . The Communist Manifesto.
6. Sigmund Freud : Civilization and its Discontents.
7. S. Radhakrishnan : Eastern Religions and Western Thought.
8. J. A. Hobson : Property and Improperly.
9. Strachey : The Coming Struggle for Power.
10. MacIver : Society, A Text-Book of Sociology.
11. G H. Mees : Dharma and Society.
12. Plato : The Republic.
18. Rudolf Steiner : *Die Dreigliederung des Sozialen Organismus.*
14. Mackenzie : The Three-fold State (Hibbert Journal).
15. Bhagwan Das : Social Reconstruction ; the Laws of Manu.
16. Nettleship : Plato's Educational Theory,
17. *Max Weber : Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.*
18. P. Wheelright : Critical Introduction to Modern Ethics

QUESTIONS

1. " Property is a matter of right."

Discuss the nature and limitations of the right of Private Property. In what way is it sacred ?
2. Discuss the significance of *Capitalism* in Social Philosophy today. What place does it occupy in the historical evolution of Property ?
3. How far is economic equality a practicable ideal ?

Indicate the lines along which you would proceed to realize it. (B. A., Alld., 1941.)
4. Explain fully the Economic Interpretation of History. (B. A., Allahabad, 1940.)
5. Describe Plato's classification of the Soul, and discuss its significance for Social Philosophy. (B. A., Alld., Supp. 1947.)
6. Discuss the place of Evolution and Revolution in Social Progress. (B. A., Alld., 1942.)

7. Detail the Rights of Man as evolved in the course of man's development. Indicate the Rights which are to the fore today. (B. A., Alld., 1942.)
8. What is the meaning of Justice? Is it found anywhere in a modern Commonwealth? Discuss Plato's contribution to the problem of Social Justice. (B. A., Alld., 1943.)
9. Do you believe that, by abolishing Private Property, the Communists will be able to abolish all aggression and enmity from society? Discuss this question fully in the light of your studies of modern Psychology.

CHAPTER VII

THE STATE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Beni Prasad : A. B. C. of Civics.
2. Hobhouse : Social Development.
3. Cole : Theories and Forms of Political Organization.
4. Kant : Elements of Political Doctrine.
5. Hegel : The Philosophy of Right.
6. Engels : Origin of the Family.
7. Bukharin : Marxism and Modern Thought.
8. Vaughan : Studies in the History of Political Philosophy.
9. Stalin : Marxism and the Question of Nationalities.
10. McDougall : The Group Mind.
11. Barker : National Character.
12. Ginsberg : Sociology.

QUESTIONS

1. Define clearly the following terms :
(a) State, (b) Nation, (c) Government. In this connection, discuss fully the question "Is India a nation?"

2. Trace the Origin of the State, as depicted in the Social Contract Theory, in one of the following philosophers :
(a) Rousseau, (b) Hobbes, (c) Locke.
3. What is the Organic Theory of the State ? How far is the Marxian view of the State a development of the Hegelian view ?
4. How far do you agree with the following : ?
(a) The State is the realization of the ethical Idea.
(b) The State "dies" together with the disappearance of classes.
(c) The State is a psychological necessity.
5. Is there anything common between the Marxian view of the State and Anarchism ? Discuss critically.

CHAPTER VIII

CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. H. G. Wells : The Outlook for Homo Sapiens.
2. Philip Wheelwright : Ethics.
3. Aldous Huxley : Ends and Means
4. Bertrand Russell : In Praise of Idleness.
5. Nietzsche : The Will to Power.
6. Fichte : Addresses to the German Nation.
7. Barnes : Fascism.
8. Hitler : *Mein Kampf*.
9. Delisle Burns : Democracy.
10. C. Lloyd : Democracy and its Rivals.

QUESTIONS

1. How far do you consider Representative Democracy as an ideal form of political organization ? What are the dangers of representation in Democracy ?
2. How far would you maintain that Fascism and Communism are the only alternatives for the modern

- statesman ? Is there any real clash between Communism and Democracy ?
- 3 Why has Democracy been handicapped in the present century by Capitalism ? In this connection give a brief account of the essential characteristics of Capitalism.
 - 4 Is Democracy compatible with Nationalism ? How would you evolve a National goal for India which would be really democratic ?
 5. How far is it true to say that Democracy is meaningless without Free and Compulsory Education in any country today ?
 6. Discuss the merits and demerits of Democracy and point out a modern alternative How far does Plato's attack on Democracy hold good today ?

CHAPTER IX

ALTERNATIVES TO DEMOCRACY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bertrand Russell : The Case for Socialism
2. H. G. Wells . The Fate of Homo Sapiens
3. Nietzsche : The Will to Power.
4. Carlyle : Past and Present
5. Aldous Huxley : Ends and Means
6. Hitler : *Mein Kampf*

QUESTIONS

- 1 Why do progressive writers like Wells and Russell attack Communism ? Do you agree with their views generally ?
2. Discuss the merits and demerits of Democracy, with special reference to Fascism and Communism (B.A., Allahabad, 1947).
3. What is the relation between War and Fascism ? Has Modern Industrialism any part to play in wars today ?

- 4 Has War any psychological foundation? How far, in your opinion, is it true to say that peace will permanently come, if the Profit Incentive vanishes in modern society?

CHAPTER X

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. D. J. Hill : People's Government
2. J. B. S. Haldane : Haldane Memorial Lecture, 1938.
3. J. D. Bernal : The Social Function of Science.
4. Bertrand Russell : In Praise of Idleness.
5. H. G. Wells : The Outlook for Homo Sapiens.
6. S. Radhakrishnan : Religion and Society.
7. B. Croce : Politics and Morals.
8. Howard Selsam : Socialism and Ethics.
9. Beni Prasad : The Democratic Process.
10. F. Engels : Socialism : Utopian and Scientific.

QUESTIONS

1. Socialist Democracy is "Democracy freed from the clutches of Capitalism" Discuss this statement fully.
2. "Philosophers have so far merely *interpreted* the world; the point, however, is to change it." (Marx). Discuss the Social philosophy of Communism in the light of the above statement. (B. A., Alld 1950).
3. "Communism does not reject the *end*, only it tries to make the *means* hundred per cent applicable." Evaluate the above remark on the ethics of Communism. (B. A., Alld., 1948).
4. What criteria would you use to choose between rival social philosophies? Illustrate your answer, (B. A., Alld, 1946).

CHAPTER XI

GANDHIISM AND INTERNATIONAL MORALITY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pattabhi Sitaramaiyya : Gandhi and Gandhism.
2. Gandhi : Non-violence in Peace and War.
3. Ambedkar : Gandhism and the Untouchables.
4. Aldous Huxley : Ends and Means.
5. C. F. Andrews : Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas.
6. J. M. Murray : The Necessity of Pacifism.
7. Rene Fullop-Miller : Lenin and Gandhi.
8. H. N. Brailsford : Property or Peace.
9. Henry George : Social Problems.
10. Stuart Chase : The Tragedy of Waste.
11. N. K. Bose . Studies in Gandhism.
12. Saiyidain : Education for International Understanding.
13. Sri Aurobindo : The Ideal of Human Unity.
14. Gandhi Memorial Peace Number (Visva-Bharati, 1949)

QUESTIONS

1. What are the essential features of Gandhism ?
2. What is the main point of divergence between Utopian and Scientific Socialism ? Can you point out any line of convergence between the two ?
3. How has the principle of Non-violence been worked by (i) Individuals, (ii) Societies in the past ? Is Gandhi's 'Ahimsa' merely an extension of the old humanitarian principle to the State ?
4. Does Gandhism offer a better prospect of World peace than Communism ? Discuss critically.
5. Discuss the place of morality and religion in culture. (B. A., Alld., 1948).
6. Examine the conflict between Nationalism and Internationalism in the modern world. How can this conflict be resolved ? (B. A., Alld., 1950).

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